THE EARLY ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL

THE SURMAN EMBASSY

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THE BENGAL PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS FOR THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Volume II : Part II

The Surman Embassy

By

C. R. Wilson, M.A.,

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Volume II, Part II, 'The Surman Embassy', edited by late C. R. Wilson was published posthumously in 1911 and was long out of print. The Council of the Asiatic Society is happy that it has been possible to reprint it.

Thanks are due to the Librarian and staff of the National Library, Calcutta, for their unfailing courtesy and help while the book was in the press.

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PREFACE

At the time of Mr. Wilson's unexpected death in 1904, the present volume was in an advanced state of preparation. Even the introduction had been printed, with the exception of the last two chapters; and fortunately the manuscript of the unprinted portion was found among the author's papers. As a student of the same period of Indian History, and one who took a sympathetic interest in Mr. Wilson's work, I share the opinion of the surviving members of the family that so much valuable material, the fruit of great labour, strenuous research, ought to be made available for those interested in the subject. Difficulties arose which have caused regrettable delay; these having now been overcome, I have been asked to contribute a few words by way of preface.

Charles Robert Wilson, M.A., D.LITT., born in London in 1863, was educated at the City of London School whence, on gaining the Carpenter Scholarship, he proceeded to Oxford. There he won an open scholarship at Wadham College. In 1886 he graduated with first class honours in the Final Schools. Soon after taking his degree, he entered the Indian Educational Service. He began his work in 1887 as Professor at Dacca College, and in 1895 was transferred to a similar position in the Presidency College at Calcutta. For some years he was Principal of the Government College, Bankipur (Patna), and then acted as an Inspector of Schools. In all these positions he acquired the confidence of his superiors and the respect of the students. At the time of his death he was the Officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India. For many years he enjoyed excellent health, and seemed destined to carry to completion a career so successfully commenced. At last the Anglo-Indian's most insidious enemy, malaria, fastened upon him, and in spite of visits to Darjeeling and Ceylon, he was unable to shake it off. As a last resource he was sent home; but it was too late. He died in London on July 24th, 1904, at the early age of forty-one.

Allowing for his comparatively short life, most of it passed under the constant pressure of arduous official duties, Mr. Wilson's literary output was considerable; nor was it of a

light or perfunctory nature, the mere amusement of a cultured mind's idle hours. It involved laborious hunting among dusty manuscripts and singular perseverance in following up and unravelling the most unpromising clues. Wilson during his annual trips to Europe must have visited nearly every part of England in pursuit of exact biographical details about the earlier Anglo-Indian worthies, whose names appear in the records he was studying. No trouble seemed to him too great to secure this object. The result is before us, and he is assured of a permanent place in the small band of similar seekers, alongside of Talboys Wheeler, A. T. Pringle, J. M. Campbell, E. T. Atkinson and G. W. Forrest.

For he evidently held, as many others do, that for the time being the available sources for the purely literary treatment of history have been exhausted. To secure any profitable extension of our knowledge, at any rate in the Indian field, we must devote ourselves to the consultation of original records. Like C. R. Wilson, we must strive at sifting, arranging and publishing the documents. It is the only way in which we can get a little nearer to the past and thus in the limited degree which is possible, learn the truth about it. In short, history must be first dealt with as a science, a record of facts, before any attempt can be made to turn it into literature or a branch of *Belles Lettres*. The merits of Wilson's work in this direction have been recognized by his University, which granted him his Doctorate in Literature, as he told me himself, after an examination founded on his own "Early Annals of the English in Bengal".

So far as known to me he is the author of the following.

(1) Articles on the site of the Black Hole of Calcutta printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
(2) List of the Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal, foolscap folio, Calcutta 1896.
(3) "The Early Annals of the English in Bengal," Vol. I, 1895, Vol. II, Part I, 1900.
(4) "Old Fort William in Bengal" in the "Indian Records" series, 1905, 2 volumes 8 (Murray).

He also wrote an article on Bibi Juliana in the *Indian Church*

Quarterly Review for October 1900, and contributed several articles to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in Calcutta.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1897, I inserted a review of the first volume of his "Early Annals of the English in Bengal". This appreciation of his book led to Mr. Wilson seeking me out on his next visit to England. From that time I received an annual visit from him and we maintained a constant correspondence on the subjects he was interested in. In this way I came to see the continuation of the "Early Annals" in proof and was able to contribute information from native historians and other sources which was not accessible to the author, being outside the limits of his special studies. The topographical notes to the "Surman Diary" are mostly by Mr. Wilson, while the rest were directly or indirectly furnished to him by me.

The volume now published, forming volume 2, Part II, of the "Early Annals of the English in Bengal" is devoted to the story of the Mission sent by the Company's officials in Calcutta to Farrukhsīyar, the Great Mogul. It is compiled from the Consultations of the Government at Calcutta, the Diary kept and Consultations recorded by the Envoys, and copies of their letters to the three presidencies. These different series of documents are taken in chronological order and combined into one continuous narrative. In this way it becomes possible for the first time to follow the development of events beginning with the instruction, of July 1715, down to the conclusion of the Mission and its arrival in Calcutta in December, 1717. Some of the letters and proceedings have been printed by J. Talboys Wheeler in his "Early Records of British India" (Calcutta, 1879); but that fragmentary narrative will be entirely superseded by Mr. Wilson's compilation. The main points of the story, with their appropriate historical background, are admirably set forth in Mr. Wilson's full and lucid introduction, to which nothing need be added here.

The "Diary" is interesting for more than one reason. It is an almost photographic picture of an Oriental court, seething as usual with intrigue and a mere battle ground of personal ambitions. We also obtain an insight into its perverse ingenuity in prevarication and procrastination. The record also makes

us acquainted with a sturdy Englishman, John Surman, who though young in years and untried in great affairs rose nobly to his responsibilities. We see, too, how difficult it is for the European and the Eastern man to work together on a footing of equality. Sarhād, the Shifty Armenian, if left to himself, might have succeeded by his own devious ways; on the other hand, Surman would certainly have done better if unhampered by Sarhād as a colleague. Placing the two men together on such a footing was a fatal mistake, and but for Surman's dogged persistence, this would have entirely wrecked the enterprise. The much-abused Wazīr, Quṭbul-Mulk, Sayyid 'Abdullah-Khān, is also shown in an unexpectedly favourable light; for instead of resenting the Envoys' long neglect of him, he acted, when at length applied to, with unusual vigour, showed no sign of offended dignity, and above all demanded nothing for himself.

On every ground I heartily commend this book to the notice of all serious students of Indian history.

October 1907 W. IRVINE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SURMAN EMBASSY

The embassy conducted by John Surman to the Court of the emperor Farrukhsiyar was the most important step taken by the English in Bengal from the foundation of Calcutta by Charnock to the conquest of Bengal by Clive. To appreciate it rightly, we must review briefly the whole course of the relations between the Mughal court and the English.

When the English first came to India, the Mughal empire was at its best. Here was a powerful centralised monarchy, very different from the petty barbarous kings of the Spice Islands over whom the Dutch were accustomed to domineer. It seemed clear that the correct attitude to assume towards such a power must be that of peaceful merchants, who aimed at nothing more than to pursue their trade in quietness and safety under the protection of the great Mughal. In pursuance of this policy in January, 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was commissioned by James I 'to be, ambassador to the great Mughal' at the expense of the company[1]. In September, 1615, he arrived at Surat, where he found the English already established in a commanding position. The power of the Portuguese in these parts had been overthrown by the victories of Best in 1613 and of Downton at the beginning of 1615; and the trade was about to pass into the hands of the English, who had already been granted permission to settle at Surat by the Mughal governor in recognition of their superiority[2]. The object of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy was to make good the footing thus obtained and to secure the Indian trade to the English Company by treaty with the Mughal. With these views, the ambassador betook himself to the imperial court at Ajmer, and opened negotiations. He proposed that the English should

[1] Hunter's *History of British India*, II, 50; and my *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* I, 152, 153 The whole story of Sir Thomas Roe's negotiations will be found in *The Embassy of Thomas Roe* by William Foster, 1899, Hakluyt Society, 2 vols

[2] Hunter's *History of British India*, II, 49, 50.

be allowed to establish factories at all ports of the Mughal empire, and particularly in Gujarat, Bengal and Sindh; and to trade inland, free of transit tolls, on payment of an import duty of 3½ per cent. on goods and 2 per cent. on treasure[1]. But the court of Jahangir held very different views. They knew nothing about treaties and ambassadors. The Mughal was absolute. It was his to grant trade privileges; it was his to annul them. The importance of Surat for the Mughal government arose from the fact that it was the port of departure for pilgrims to Mecca. The Portuguese were infidel idolaters whose piratical ways had greatly increased the dangers of the pilgrimage to the holy places. The English were infidels of another sort. It appeared that they were at once able to keep the Portuguese in check and willing to trade peaceably with the empire. Their agent, a well educated well mannered man, was soliciting for favours from the imperial throne. In these circumstances the court was naturally disposed to be indulgent. Sir Thomas Roe obtained, not a treaty or comprehensive grant of privileges such as he proposed, but a limited permission for the English to reside at Surat and trade in the country[2]. In other words, Roe completely failed in his negotiation. The few concessions obtained through him were insignificant in comparison with the time and money spent in obtaining them. The Old Company had learnt a lesson. Never again did it require the services of a royal ambassador. It was satisfied for the future to carry on its negotiations with Indian rulers for the extension of its trade through commercial agents.

As time passed the English extended their settlements along both the coasts of India, they learned a second lesson. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Mughal empire began to disintegrate. Local rulers in outlying parts of the empire found that the control of the central power was growing slacker and that they could do very much as they pleased. The more enterprising naturally began to plunder their neighbours, and the English found their trade impeded at every turn by vexatious exactions. Bitter experience showed them that no engagements and no orders were of avail against local lawless-

[1] Hunter's *History of British India*, II, 52.
[2] *Ib.*, 52

ness. They were therefore driven to the conclusion that they must protect themselves. They must break with the Mughal government and must seize and fortify suitable posts to be trade centres in the different parts of India. The company, therefore, renounced its former policy of peaceful trade, and adopted instead the policy advocated by Hedges and Charnock, and above all by the brothers Child, the policy of fortified settlements[1].

The change, as we have seen, was announced in the year 1686. At first the new policy seemed to meet with little success. The English were forced to leave Bengal; their factories were seized at Surat, Masulipatam and Vizagapatam; and Bombay was attacked. But in the end the policy took effect. The wealth brought into the imperial treasury by the English trade was too valuable to lose, and the imperial government, always anxious for the safety of the pilgrim seaway to Mecca, was naturally eager to conciliate a naval power like the English and to secure their help in keeping the sea clear of pirates. When, therefore, Sir John Child solicited peace in December, 1689, the emperor was quite ready to grant it, though on apparently hard terms[2]. The English having made submission and promised to pay a large fine, were ostensibly permitted to resume their former status of peaceful traders and no more. In reality, the English returned, not to resume their former status of peaceful traders, but to establish themselves in fortified settlements. It was the Mughal, not Sir John Child, who had actually submitted.

The Old Company had barely begun to enjoy the fruits of its last struggle when it was, as we have seen, confronted with a rival, the new English Company, and the recently adopted trade policy of establishing fortified settlements, or cautionary towns, was opposed by an alternative plan for establishing diplomatic relations with the Indian government by means of consuls and by the maintenance of an embassy at the imperial court. With these proposals the Old Company had no sympathy. They had tried a royal embassy once and it had proved a costly failure. They held with John Beard that a strong fortification

[1] My *English in Bengal*, I, 88-90, also Hunter's *History of British India*, II 240-45.

[2] *Ib.*, 122, 123, also Hunter's *History of British India*, II, 265.

was better than an ambassador[1]. But the idea had become a main pillar in the trade policy of the New Company[2]. Accordingly, the three Presidents sent out by the New Company to Bengal, Madras and Bombay, Sir Edward Littleton, John Pitt and Sir Nicholas Waite, were invested with consular powers, and William Norris M.P. for Liverpool was created a baronet and sent as the King's ambassador extraordinary to the Mughal on a salary of £2,000 a year to be paid by the New Company[3].

Nothing could be more injudicious than the selection of these new represéntatives of England, nothing could be more disastrous than the results of their interference in India[4]. The three consuls were dismissed servants of the Old Company, faithless, incompetent and violent. The ambassador, though honest and able, was inexperienced, profuse and hasty[5]. Where-ever the three consuls went they did nothing but stir up enmity, strife and confusion[6]. They made the most reckless and damaging accusations. Sir Nicholas Waite, even, had the folly to write to the emperor accusing the Old Company's servants, his fellow countrymen, of being thieves and confederates with pirates[7]. Thus the worst suspicions were aroused and the English fell everywhere into discredit. The wild accusations of Sir Nicholas Waite were the immediate cause of the ruin of the Old Company's establishments in Western India and of the failure of the embassy of Sir William Norris.

That conscientious but misguided man, as we have seen, listening to the foolish counsels of John Pitt, had at first chosen Masulipatam as his starting point, and landed there on September 25, 1699, on the same day of the same month that Sir Thomas Roe had landed in Surat, eighty four years before[8]. It was only after wasting large sums of money and months of valuable time that the ambassador found out his mistake. It was not till the end of 1700 that he reached Surat; it was not till January 26, 1701, that he set out for the Mughal's camp. At Burhānpūr

[1] My *English in Bengal*, I, 168
[2] Hunter's *History of British India*, II, 340.
[3] *Ib*, 349-50.
[4] *Ib*, 337-38
[5] *Ib*, 359.
[6] *Ib.*, 338-49.
[7] *Ib*, 342
[8] *Ib.*, 351.

he insulted the grand vizier of the empire, Asad Khān by refusing to pay him a visit; at Panalla, which he reached in April, he was received by the worn out emperor with politeness but without enthusiasm[1]. His fine clothes and show of pomp, his titles of baronet and king's ambassador extraordinary made no impression upon the imperial court. For them he was merely an infidel, the *wakīl*, or attorney, of a body of infidel merchants suing for trade privileges. The one point of interest to be determined was whether the infidel English were, like the infidel Portuguese, no better than pirates, or whether they could be utilized to police the sea and keep open the pilgrim way to Mecca. In an early letter to the emperor, before the arrival of the embassy, Sir Nicholas Waite had offered that the security of the Indian seas, which had hitherto been guaranteed jointly by the English, French and Dutch should be entrusted to the English alone who would undertake to suppress all piracy. Aurangzeb remembered this rash offer and when the embassy arrived, made the carrying of it into effect an indispensable condition to the granting of any rescripts or *farmāns* for trade[2]. Thus the whole negotiation was rendered abortive from the first, for it was absolutely impossible for the English company to give any such guarantee, and the burden of such an undertaking would have been absolutely ruinous. In vain did Norris negotiate and offer bribes. The imperial court knew its own mind. There were other European nations anxious to trade with India besides the English. There was another English company with which the emperor had long had relations. With so many competitors for imperial favour the bidding ought to be good. The new English company was much mistaken if it thought it would get its privileges for nothing. If the royal ambassador would not accept the conditions of the seas, well, he knew the same way back to England, that he came.

Out of patience and out of funds, Sir William Norris abruptly left the court in November, 1701. The results of his negotiations were disastrous. Already the English at Surat, together with Sir John Gayer, the president at Bombay, and

[1] Hunter's *History of India*, II, 352-3; also my *English in Bengal*, I, 153.
[2] Hunter's *History of India*, II, 355-57

his wife, had been arrested and imprisoned, and their goods confiscated. Now, ten days after the ambassador's abrupt departure, an imperial proclamation was issued ordering the goods and persons of the English to be everywhere seized, a blow which fell mainly on the New Company on the east side of India, where it had no fortified settlements such as Fort William or Fort St. George[1]. The ambassador himself was detained by the vizier at Burhānpūr for nearly three months. In the middle of 1703 he set sail for England, baffled and discredited, with health broken. He died at St. Helena of dysentery[2].

Such being the disastrous results of the second royal embassy to the Mughal, there could no longer be any doubt that the Old Company had been right in their views as to the proper way of protecting their trade, and the United East India Company accepted the policy of fortified settlements as the approved and established policy to be followed by the English in India. But fortified settlements cost money to keep up and must be supported by revenues. Consequently, the English had no sooner got their fortified settlements in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay than they began to consider whether they could not add to them a certain amount of the adjacent territory from which they might draw sufficient revenues for the upkeep of their fortresses. To do this they must needs approach the Mughal, for the land of India was his alone, and it was his to make grants of territory great or small.

The idea of sending an embassy to the Mughal court to secure such territorial concessions to the company first occurred to Governor Pitt[3]. In the year 1708, the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam in the course of his quarrel with his brother Kām Bakhsh was drawn into Southern India and was thus brought comparatively near to Madras. It happened too that Governor Pitt was on very friendly terms with Ziāu-d-dīn-Khān, the Diwan of the country of Chīnāpatām, a nobleman of consideration and influence at court, whose uncle had been vizier and his father-in-law governor of Kashmir, and who himself had been promoted by 'Ālamgīr and appointed deputy steward of the

[1] Hunter's *History of India*, II, 361-2, also my *English in Bengal*, I, 160-61.
[2] Hunter's *History of India*, II, 358-61, also my *English in Bengal*, I, 154.
[3] See *English in Bengal*, I, 183-4.

imperial house-hold[1]. The moment, therefore, seemed opportune for sending an embassy. In 1708, letters on the subject passed between Pitt and Ziāu-d-dīn in which the wishes of the English were explained and their claims urged. During the first half of the year 1709 a sumptuous present was got ready, part of which was actually sent by sea to Masulipatam, intended for the king at Golconda. But after the defeat of Kām Bakhsh the king withdrew from the South, and in September Pitt was deprived of his office. Consequently the whole scheme dropped for the time[2], and the present which Governor Pitt had got together was transferred to Calcutta[3].

[1] See note at page 338 of the *Diary* which follows
[2] See *English in Bengal*, I, 184, also pages 337-346 in the *Diary* which follows.
[3] See *English in Bengal*, II, 1, xxiii.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EMBASSY

In 1710, Ziāu-d-dīn Khān was sent to Bengal as governor of Hugli and admiral in the Bay, and negotiations for sending an embassy to the emperor were revived. At the request of the English Company Ziāu-d-dīn Khān wrote to Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān, the nominal governor at Bengal, then with the emperor, asking him to procure from his father a *farmān* for the British trade and intimating that the English had got ready a present which they desired to forward to the imperial court. In May, 1711, the English president, John Russel, and three members of his council were summoned to Hugli to hear the prince's answer. The prince was an old friend of the English and appeared ready enough to procure the *farmān*, but he wanted details. How was the *farmān* to be worded, and what was the value of the gifts they offered in return? To serve their present need the prince was sending his *nishān*, or grant, to trade according to their former liberties, and Ziāu-d-dīn Khān wished to know how much they would give him for getting it. The English astutely replied that they would be better able to judge of the worth of the *nishān* when they had perused it. Neither were they prepared to reply definitely as to the provisions of the *farmān* till they heard from Surat and Fort St. George[1]. Meanwhile, in August, they wrote again to the prince reminding him of their expectations of obtaining a *farmān* through his favour and promising to send to the court their 'small and inconsiderable present'. But until they could be made so happy as to lay it at his feet, they asked for an injunction on the *dīwān* to abstain from molesting their trade[2]. In October, however, Ziāu-d-dīn Khān having been removed from the government of Hugli, they thought it best to come to terms with the *dīwān* (Murshid Qulī Khān)[3]. Towards the end of the year instructions were received from Madras explaining the requirements of that presidency[4].

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 14
[2] *Ib*, 22-23.
[3] *Ib*, 28.
[4] See the *appendix* to *Diary*, pp 255-59.

At the beginning of the year 1712, the present, which had been carefully revised, was lying, packed in boats, ready to go up the river, and the council was considering whom to send with it as ambassadors, when the news came that the emperor had died at Lahor[1]. The usual dynastic disputes followed. For a time the eldest son Jahāndār held the imperial power, and in July the English ventured to send him a letter explaining their intention of sending a present to Delhi and obtaining an imperial *farmān*. But, by the end of the year Jahāndār's course was run, and with the aid of the Sayyad brothers 'Abdu-llah and Hussain 'Alī, his nephew Farrukhsīyar had seated himself on the peacock throne. Again the time seemed opportune for approaching the Mughal. Jahāndār had favoured the Dutch, whose embassy under Kettler, originally sent to Shāh 'Ālam, had, during his successor's short reign, obtained important concessions[2]. But Farrukhsīyar, like his father 'Azīmu-sh-shān, was the traditional friend of the English in Bengal, who had sent him toys and presents as a boy, who had secured from his father the grant of the three villages of Sūtānuṭi, Calcutta and Govindpur, and who now hoped to secure from the son still larger concessions of territory and trade privileges. Accordingly, in March, 1713, the president and council at Calcutta wrote to the emperor, explaining that the present and the embassy were now ready to set out, and asking that orders should be sent to the local governors to convey them through the extent of their governments. They also referred to the obstructive action of the *diwān*, Murshid Qulī Khān, and asked for an imperial order *ad interim* to permit their business to go on as formerly[3].

The English, however, did not at this time rely wholly on the reasonableness of their representations and the intercession of Ziāu-d-dīn Khān. They attempted to improve upon Governor Pitt's diplomatic methods. The Dutch, so it was said, had obtained their recent concessions from Jahāndār mainly through the instrumentality of certain Armenians at Delhi, and the English were resolved to do the same. They

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, I, xxiii and 41-43

[2] See Valentyn's *Oude en Nieuw Ost-Indien*, Dordrecht, 1726, IV, 282-307. Also the *appendix* to the *Diary*.

[3] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 111-12.

therefore allowed the great Armenian merchant at Calcutta, Khwājah Sarhād, to enter into private negotiations with the court through Padre Daniel and various others of his fellow countrymen in Delhi. In so doing the English were ill-advised. Padre Daniel and his friends knew much better how to extract from their credulous employers than how to win concessions from the Mughal government. They had no reputation and no influence. Their only skill was simple lying. Yet at first they seemed to succeed. Through their agency, letters were sent to the principal court officials informing them that the English merchants had a present for his Majesty ready in Bengal, but were hesitating about sending it, as they were under serious apprehensions that they might fail in their suit to the imperial throne and their business might miscarry. They wished to have some security before they parted with their present, and requested an order for freedom of trade in Bengal. It was further represented that the Armenian merchant Khwājah Sarhād had the entire management of the present and could practically dispose of it as he pleased. He engaged to forward the present immediately and come with it himself if the order for freedom of trade were only granted[1]. These representations were crowned with an immediate and probably unexpected success. The mention of presents consisting of cloth, silks and brocades, fire-arms, spirits and perfumes, glassware, clock-work and other toys, appears to have aroused the curiosity of the imperial court, for in such matters Farrukhsīyar was little better than a child, and it appears to have been thought quite worth while to gratify the English at Calcutta with an order for freedom of trade, if only this wonderful present could be brought to Delhi.

Accordingly, in October, 1713, orders were received in Calcutta under the seal of Taqarrub Khān, the lord steward, directed to the governors of Bengal, Patna, Allahābād and Akbarābād ordering them to guard the present through their several governments till its arrival with English embassy at Court[2]. In January, 1714, a further order arrived from Delhi, forbidding Murshid Qulī Khān to interfere with the English trade which was to pass with the same custom and privilege as

[1] *Diary*, 149
[2] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 143

in former days[1]. On the receipt of this last order, the council thought it politic to make great public rejoicings in Calcutta, and they now at length turned their serious attention to the sending of the long deferred embassy with their present to the Mughal.

On January 5, 1714, the council entered upon an anxious debate as to which of Company's servants should be selected for sending to Delhi. A minority maintained that it would be disrespectful to the great Mughal if the head of the embassy were not a civil servant of high standing and a member of the council; but the majority, probably quite rightly, maintained that these distinctions of rank were nothing to the Mughal, who would regard even a peer of the greatest monarchy in Europe as infinitely beneath him, and, consequently, that it would suffice to leave the conduct of the embassy to a junior civil servant provided he was able and well qualified[2]. A second point of difficulty arose from the fact that none of the Company's servants appear to have had a sufficient mastery of the Persian language to conduct the negotiation unaided. Had the embassy been despatched from Madras, it had been intended to supply this defect by employing the great Italian traveller Manucci[3]. But Manucci was now too old,[4] and it was hopeless to think of finding in Calcutta any European of similar abilities and qualifications. The only suitable person for the business was the Armenian merchant Khwājah Israel Sarhād, the nephew of the celebrated Khwājah Fanūs Kalantar. Khwājah Sarhād had been for many years well acquainted with the English and their affairs[5]. He had been to England at one time with his uncle, and must have known something of the English language, though he was not able to read or write it[6]. He had been resident in Calcutta probably from its foundation. In 1697-8 he had taken

[1] *English in Bengal*, 153

[2] *Ib.*, II, I, 154-55.

[3] My authority for this statement is an extract from a private letter from the late A. T. Pringle to Mr. Irvine, which he has kindly communicated to me. (I have since found the official entry, it is dated the 14th January 1712, in the time of President Edward Harrison—W I)

[4] He is said to have died an octogenarian in 1717. So Mr. Irvine tells me.

[5] *Diary*, I, 200.

[6] *Appendix* to the *Diary*.

a prominent part in the negotiations with Prince 'Azimu-sh-shān which had resulted in the acquisition of the three villages of Calcutta, Sutānuṭi, and Govindpur. At the same time he had become personally known to Farrukhsiyar, then a handsome boy of fourteen, fond of all kinds of games and physical exercises, and had made him presents of guns and toys[1]. The English were ready to believe that Khwājah Sarhād was still a *persona grata* to the emperor, and that it was at any rate partly for old acquaintance sake that he had already granted so favourable reception to the representations made by Sarhād on behalf of the English. It is not surprising then that Khwājah Sarhād was given a place in the embassy; the appointment in fact must have seemed inevitable. Nevertheless, although the English were not at this time aware of the disreputable character of Sarhād's agents at Delhi and the dishonourable nature of their methods of negotiation, yet they seem to have had no high opinion of Sarhād's private character and to have distrusted him from the first. It was agreed that he would require careful watching and that the English members of the mission would have to keep one eye on the Mughal and the other on the Armenian[2].

The terms agreed upon with Sarhād, under which he received his appointment to the embassy, are recorded in the consultation of January 27. First, if all the privileges the Company have at any time heretofore enjoyed in the Mughal's dominions be confirmed in the new *farmān*, and if he gets our bounds enlarged as far as we desire, that is, northward to near Barnagar, eastward to the lake, and southward to Kidderpur, and that the shore on the side of the river opposite to this place be also granted to us, also if he endeavour earnestly to get the grant of Divi Island near Masulipatnam which the president and council at Madras desire may be obtained for that presidency, his reward is then to be fifty thousand rupees; but he is to have nothing if he fails in these points. Secondly, if he procures the privilege for our nation to trade custom free at Surat, which he will attempt, he is to have fifty thousand rupees more for that

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 7

[2] *Ib* II, 1, 157, see also the instructions in the *appendix* to the *Diary*.

service; but, if he fails in that he is not to have the reward. He is nevertheless to endeavour to get the custom we pay at that port reduced to 2½ per cent[1].

The Company's servants first nominated to the embassy were John Surman, chief, John Pratt, second, Edward Stephenson, third:[2] But, on January, 27, the order was revised. Khwājah Sarhād was appointed second, John Pratt third, and Edward Stephenson secretary and accountant[3]. Finally, on March 4, as Pratt desired to be excused from proceeding to Delhi, Edward Stephenson was once more made third and Hugh Barker secretary in the negotiation at the Mughal's court[4].

The members of the embassy, as thus finally constituted, presented some sharp contrasts of character. The selection of the chief seems to have been in every way happy. John Surman, if we may judge from the scanty notices we have left of him, was one of those men, none too common in the service of the Company at this time, who, like Charnock, preferred public interests to private, who were more intent on the establishment of the English trade and the English position in India than the building up of their own fortunes, a man of great ability and of great integrity, of strong passions and a strong will, a man, as the Indians say, of great heart[5]. Of middle class origin, born probably in London, the son of John Surman, coach-maker, and his wife Susanna, John Surman was elected a writer on December 20, 1706[6]. The usual age for candidates for the writership was 17 years, and we shall not err greatly if we assume this to have been Surman's age at the time. On December 23, the court accepted as his securities Henry Watts, citizen and innholder, and John Surman, citizen and coachbuilder, the young man's presumptive father. At the same time the newly elected writer was ordered to take passage on the *Dutchess* for the Bay of Bengal[7]. The *Dutchess* sailed on February 20, 1707,[8]

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, 1, 158.
[2] *Ib*, 153-54.
[3] *Ib.*, 158.
[4] *Ib*, 165.
[5] Bengal Public Consultations for July 26 and August 23, 1725.
[6] *Court Book*, XLII, 422.
[7] *Ib.*, 428.
[8] Her Log.

and John Surman arrived writer in Bengal on August 19, 1707[1]. On January 30, 1710, he was sent to Patna[2], and on April 19, 1712, though not out of his writership, was taken into the council at Patna as being 'very sufficiently qualified to give his advice and every way fit to assist in these troublesome times'[3]. How qualified to advise, how fit to take charge of the highest interests of the Company, the history of the embassy will the more clearly show.

The third in the negotiation, Edward Stephenson, was a character cast in a more ordinary mould. Honest and capable, no doubt, he was without that conspicuous ability and zeal for the public service which distinguish John Surman. He was content to do his duty and get rich quietly. Consequently he succeeded in satisfying his masters, retiring with a fortune to die many years afterwards in England at the age of 72, well off and highly respected[4]. Edward Stephenson was born in Cumberland in 1691, his baptism being recorded in the parish register of Crosthwaite on the 8th October of that year. His father was Edward Stephenson of Keswick. Through his mother Rebecca, he was connected with the Winders of Lorton and of the City of London. On November 3, 1708, the court of directors read a petition from Edward Stephenson, then seventeen years old, 'praying to be entertained a writer in the Bay or elsewhere,' and ordered the committee of accounts to examine the petitioner's qualifications[5]. On November 24, Edward Stephenson was elected a writer in the Company's service[6]. On December 17 following Mr. Samuel and Mr. Jonathan Winder were accepted as his securities[7]. He arrived writer in Bengal on February 2, 1710[8]. In the seventy-fifth paragraph of the general letter from Bengal to the court of directors Edward Stephenson was specially commended[9]. On this account he

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 205
[2] *Ib*., I, 327
[3] *Ib*., II, I, 53
[4] I have given a short account of the personal history of Stephenson in my article *An unrecorded Governor of Fort William in Bengal*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXVII, I, 167-77
[5] *Court Book*, XLIII, 231
[6] *Court Book*, XLIII, 275
[7] *Ib*., 344
[8] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 205
Ib., 379

was advanced a year in service by the court and made a factor from February 2, 1714[1]. In the embassy he adequately supported his chief, but it is not likely that he could have ever replaced him.

The secretary, Hugh Barker, was in many ways the antithesis of John Surman. Well-connected and possessing in consequence some influence with the court of directors, he appears to have been an unprofitable servant of the Company, neglectful of its interests, using whatever abilities and opportunities he had solely for his own advantage. The court books show that Hugh Barker first petitioned to enter the Company's service on December 8, 1710[2]. He was elected writer on December 15,[3] and on December 22, Richard Barker of Great Horwood and Arthur Crabb of Alisbury were accepted as his securities[4]. He took his passage on the *Aurengzebe*[5] and arrived writer in Bengal on August 17, 1711[6]. During the negotiation, he seems to have discharged his duties satisfactorily under the supervision of Surman and Stephenson. It was subsequently, at Patna, that the defects in his moral character showed themselves, and the council was constrained to dismiss him from the service. Restored again through his influence with the directors, he returned to Bengal to pursue his evil ways as before, and 'met with a wretched end'[7]. One more appointment to the embassy remains to be noticed, the doctor, William Hamilton. Of his early history I have already written at length,[8] tracing his descent from the Hamiltons of Dalzell, and suggesting that he originally took service in 1709 on the *Sherborne* bound for India in the hopes of speedily making a fortune and returning to marry his cousin Anna. Of considerable ability, but wanting

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[1] *General Letter to Bengal*, dated January, 13, 1714, paragraph 88.
[2] *Court Book*, XLIV, 235
[3] *Ib.*, 249.
[4] *Ib.*, 260.
[5] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 341.
[6] *Ib*, 93 and 205.
[7] This view of Barker's character is partly based on the notices of him in the records and partly on the first letter from Captain Fenwick on the Company's Affairs in Bengal found in the Orme Collections at the India Office. India VI Of Surman, Fenwick says, 'He was a valuable man to them (*i e.*, the Company), and would have made Bengal flourish had he lived, but the Directors and a lady's cruelty in England hastened his death.'
[8] *English in Bengal*, II, I, vii-xiii.

in decision and hopefulness William Hamilton had well nigh brought his life to utter ruin when he deserted his ship at Cuddalore in May, 1711. His appointment to the embassy gave him an opportunity of retrieving his past, and he availed of it nobly.

During the first months of the year 1714, notes of preparation for Delhi are found in the Consultations book. Payments are recorded to John Burnell[1] for having 'with great care and ingenuity perfected a map of the world in two rounds six foot two inches diameter curiously embellished with gold and silver,' also to Mirzā Ibrahīm[2] for writing the title and names of places in Persian. The clocks belonging to the present were so numerous that it was found necessary to send a clockmaker with them to the court[3] to take care of them and repair any damage that might happen in the way. Various additions were also thought of; at one time more silks and cloth, arms, clocks and toys,[4] at another time two japanned copper fountains and a double-barrelled gun,[5] and finally fifty more chests of Shirāz wine[6]. Allowances were made to Stephenson and Hamilton[7] to provide themselves with necessaries, and Rs. 5,000 were advanced to provide carpets, quilts and kitchen necessaries which could not be got at Patna or elsewhere[8]. The garrison was increased by fifty men so as to allow of a suitable escort of 300 men being sent with the boats[9]. On April 19, the soldiers were marched on board and the boats started on their way[10]. In May, the two royal macebearers arrived at Hughli with a gold dress of honour for the president and a silver one for Khwājah Sarhād, which were received in Calcutta on June 1 with a great public display and marks of rejoicing[11].

The ambassadors received full instructions from Madras

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 160
[2] *Ib*, 153
[3] *Ib*, 165
[4] *Ib*, 158-59
[5] *Ib*, 169
[6] *Ib*, 170
[7] *Ib*, 162
[8] *Ib*., 169
[9] *Ib*, 168.
[10] *Ib*, 171
[11] *Ib*, 175

and Bombay as well as from Calcutta[1]. They took with them notes of the proceedings of Sir William Norris, and of the Dutch embassy to Shāh 'Ālam and Jahāndār under Kettler. They took with them the originals of the most important grants made to the English in Bengal. The final letter of instruction, dated May 13, 1714, is clear and full, giving us even a list of the servants allowed with their wages, including a trumpeter and six soldiers in decent habits to attend Mr. Surman. The different books to be kept by the embassy and its procedure were carefully specified In case of Surman's death, it was ordered that Stephenson should succeed as chief. Four sets of goods separately listed were sent with the embassy. First, there were the goods and rarities comprised in the king's present valued at Rs. 1,02,472-11-4. Other goods valued at Rs. 1,08,248-11-3 were intended principally for presents to the court nobles, but could be used to supplement the imperial present, if necessary. Amongst these goods was included a stock of wine and other liquors. A third set of goods, valued at Rs. 29,958-4-0, consisted of cloth and other articles needed for the personal service of the embassy. Lastly the embassy took with it forty-seven bales of Bengal piece goods to sell on account of the merchants, Surman receiving 2 per cent., Sarhād 2 per cent, and Stephenson 1 per cent of the proceeds. The embassy had been strictly forbidden to take merchants' goods from Patna to Delhi. The departure from the rule in the case of Calcutta was justified on the plea that it would save the exchange, as the money realised by the sale of the goods could be used to pay the current expenses of the embassy, while the merchants could be repaid in Calcutta.

[1] *Appendix* at the end of the *Diary*.

CHAPTER III

THE COURT OF FARRUKHSĪYAR

Before following the ambassadors to Patna and thence to Delhi, it will be convenient to take brief survey of the condition of affairs at the Mughal court. As we have seen, Farrukhsīyar[1] had been raised to the throne through no merits of his. He owed his sudden elevation to the intercession of his mother, and to the attachment of the Sayyad brothers to his father's memory. Physically strong and handsome, he was intellectually weak and morally depraved Accordingly, all his most noticeable characteristics are connected with his excellence of body[2]. He was naturally fond of wrestling, archery, hunting, horsemanship, polo-playing, and other soldierly exercise He had an extraordinary fondness for horses. Several thousands of them, we are told, stood in his private stables, and a select number were tethered under the balcony of his sleeping room. He could call every horse and its syce by name, and noticed at once any change in a horse's condition. He was also fond of fine clothes, and liked to dress in gold embroidered raiment edged with gold lace[3]. Generally he was profuse and liberal in his living and expenditure. Such qualities recommended him at all times to the favour of the lower classes, and they would make him as a prince popular with his immediate companions. The English, we may be sure, were taken with his good looks and fondness for manly exercises. But such qualities were not sufficient for the master of a great empire As a ruler Farrukhsīyar displayed nothing but weakness. Feeble in intellect, cowardly, false, and faithless, no one could either fear him or like him. On becoming emperor, there were two courses of action open to him with reference to the Sayyad brothers, Abdullah Khān and Hussain 'Ali. Following the dictates of gratitude and

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[1] Mr Irvine thinks that Farrukhsīyar was born on Ramazan 19, 1094 i e, September 1, 1683 See his article on The Later Mughals in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXIII, I

[2] Mr. Irvine speaks of him in one place in the same article as 'a strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully-built of Babar's race that had ever occupied the throne'.

[3] Mr Irvine's article on The Later Mughals in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* LXXIII, I.

prudence, he might have left these powerful ministers to pursue their own way, contenting himself with the outward show and the name of emperor. But, according to the customs of his day and country Farrukhsīyar would have committed no exceptional crime, and would have displayed no extraordinary ingratitude, if he had turned upon the two Sayyad brothers as soon as he became king, and dismissed them, or even put them to death[1]. So had the great Akbar done; and so would Farrukhsīyar have done, had he been strong enough to follow the advice of the favourites who surrounded him, of whom the principal were Khān Daurān, Mīr Jumlah, and Taqarrub Khān.

Khwajah A'sim, Samsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Mansūr Jang, was the son of Khwajah Qasim of Agra, his ancestors having emigrated from Badakhshan. He began life as a trooper in the regiment commanded by 'Azīmu-sh-shān, but when the prince went up to the court, Khwajah A'sim had remained in Bengal with Farrukhsīyar over whom he gained great influence. He was the companion of the young prince's amusements, wrestling, archery and the like. In the end he proved to be the evil genius of Farrukhsīyar and of Muhammad Shāh after him. The other two favourites were men of much less importance. 'Ubaidullah, Mīr Jumlah, a native of Samarkand, born about 1670-71 had come to India in the reign of Aurangzeb. He was appointed *qāzi*, first at Dacca, and afterwards at Patna; and, while in Bengal, succeeded in ingratiating himself with 'Azīmu-sh-shān, and afterwards with Farrukhsīyar, who made him *dārōghah* of the *khawās*, or pages. Mir Muhammad Ja'far of Shirāz, entitled Taqarrub Khān, was steward of Farrukhsiyar while a prince in Bengal and had shown himself friendly to the English. When Farrukhsīyar became emperor, Muhammed Ja'far naturally became lord steward[2].

Naturally, too, when Farrukhsīyar became emperor, the small group of men, who had known him from childhood, and who were on intimate terms with him, were anxious to get their full share of the loaves and fishes of office, and were aggrieved at

[1] Mr Irvine's article on the Later Mughals in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXIII, I

[2] See footnotes in the *Diary* at pages 55, 63, 126.

seeing some of the most considerable appropriated by the Sayyads and their partisans. Afraid to take any open step, they gathered round Farrukhsīyar in secret and filled his ears with complaints and suspicions.

The result was that the emperor's relations with his two great supporters and most powerful ministers were from the first hopelessly prejudiced. Even before he arrived at Delhi, Farrukhsīyar had begun to look with suspicion on the Sayyads. He had no sooner agreed to the appointment of 'Abdullah as *wazīr* than he began to repent of it. Hussain 'Ali warned his brother that he judged from Farrukhsīyar's talk that he was a man who paid no regard to the claims of services rendered, a man void of faith, a breaker of his word and altogether without shame[1]. This singularly clear-sighted estimate of character was almost immediately confirmed by an open difference of opinion between the king and the *wazīr*. The king wished to make Chhabīlah Rām *dīwān* of the *khāliṣah*, and Afzal Khān, *ṣadru-s-sudūr*. But the *wazīr* had already assigned these posts to Luṭfullah Khān and Amjad Khān, and fell into a violent passion at the idea of setting aside these appointments. A compromise was agreed upon allowing Luṭfullah to be *dīwān*, while Afzal Khān was made *ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr*, but the ill feeling between the emperor and the Sayyad brothers remained[2].

Early in Farrukhsīyar's reign it was found necessary to proceed against the *rājah* of Jodhpur, Ajīt Singh, who had taken advantage of the late confusion to eject the imperial officers from his capital and prohibit the call to prayer. At first it was intended that the emperor should command in person. But he was not apparently in good health. Consequently the command was given to Husain 'Alī, Khān Daurān being appointed to act as the deputy of Husain 'Alī at court and second *bakhshī*[3]. Husain 'Ali left Delhi in December, 1713, and vigorously attacked the *rājah's* forces during the first months of 1714[4]. At last Ajīt Singh was constrained to come to terms, and agreed to give one of his daughters in marriage to the emperor, and

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[1] Mr Irvine's article on The Later Mughals in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXII, I, 42-3

[2] *Ib*, 43-4.

[3] *Ib*, 45

[4] *Ib*, 46-7.

to allow his son to accompany Husain 'Alī to the court promising to attend himself also when summoned[1].

Meanwhile 'Abdullah, the *wazīr*, immersed in pleasure at Delhi, left all business matters to his deputy Ratan Chand; and the emperor renewed his plots to destroy the two Sayyads. For the moment real power passed into the hands of the favourite Mīr Jumlah, but in July, at the request of his brother, Husain 'Alī returned to Delhi and the emperor's plots all came to nothing[2]. Towards the end of the year 1714 a pretended reconciliation was effected between the emperor and the two Sayyads[3]. In December, Mīr Jumlah was sent away to be governor of Bihar[4]. Husain 'Alī also took leave on his appointment as governor of the Deccan, but he does not appear to have actually started till the end of March, 1715. He left, threatening to return in twenty days if his brother were annoyed or Mīr Jumlah recalled[5]. He had hardly departed when Dāūd Khān was appointed to Burhānpur, one of the Deccan governments, with secret instructions from the court to resist Husain 'Alī and kill him if possible[6].

Such were Farrukhsīyar's devices to get rid of his too powerful minister Hussain 'Alī. Against his *wazīr*, 'Abdullah, he continued to devise abortive plots, and to solicit support from any noble or official whom he supposed likely to help him. His favourite device, however, was to assemble suddenly a band of followers and with them to rove about in the neighbourhood of the capital, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting, but really, it would seem, in the hope of somehow surprising the *wazīr* and seizing his person. But the *wazīr* though lethargic and careless, was not altogether so neglectful of what was passing as to be taken unawares by Farrukhsīyar.

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[1] Mr. Irvine's article on The Later Mughals in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXII, I, 48-9

[2] *Ib*, 49-51.

[3] *Ib*, 58.

[4] *Ib.*, 58-9.

[5] *Ib*, 60.

[6] *Ib.*, 60

CHAPTER IV

PROCEEDINGS AT PATNA

The Surman diary opens on August 15, 1714, at Patna, where the English embassy were waiting for the arrival of the promised escort from the king to go with them to Delhi. The present was by this time gathered together, filling every available corner of the Patna factory besides several small houses hired to receive it. On September 1, Surman, Stephenson, Barker, and Hamilton, with all their belongings, removed to a separate residence of their own, where they not only enjoyed greater dignity and freedom of action, but were also better able to take stock of their extensive collections[1] Towards the middle of October they were joined by Khwājah Sarhād[2]. Very little was left to complete the present. A few alterations in the shape of the flint-ware, a few cut-glass bottles and cases, a few silver pots and pans, candlesticks and maces[3], and there it stood ready for transport, clothes and silkstuffs, spirits and perfumes, crockery and cutlery, fire-arms and cannons, sixty tons of delights for the Mughal and his court[4]

The modern traveller from Patna to Delhi makes the journey with perfect ease in less than twenty-four hours, and, even if he should wish to bring with him a ship-load of luggage, the time to transport would hardly exceed a week. The embassy to Farrukhsīyar with a far smaller burden could not reach the capital in less than ten months Of these it took three to drag its slow length along the imperial road; the other seven were spent in preparations to start, preparations required for safety no less than honour

The ambassadors thought it necessary to wear the finest clothes procurable and to provide themselves with silver plated palanquins[5]. Their servants were decked with handsome

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[1] *Diary*, 2.
[2] *Ib*, 3.
[3] *Ib*, 6, 7
[4] A hundred wagons, each carrying 16 *mans* were required for the Company's presents, see footnote on page xxiii, reckoning the bazar man as 82 lbs. the total weight would be sixty tons
[5] *Diary*, 11.

liveries, and many of their retinue were carried in litters. Before Mr. John Surman, as chief of the embassy, were borne two flags displaying the Union Jack, and the same honour was allowed to K͟hwājah Sarhād as principal agent and interpreter[1]. Two sets of tents were bought, one for present use and one for sending on a stage in advance to be ready for the next day[2]. No less than a hundred and sixty bullock-wagons, each creaking beneath a load of more than half a ton, were required for the whole stock of their goods[3], which, in addition to the king's present, included a large consignment of private merchandise[4]. For their other transport there were fifteen camels, ten carts, and twenty-two oxen to tug the guns[5]. A still larger retinue of servants followed the embassy including a trumpeter and six soldiers, a clockmaker, four smiths, ten carpenters, thirty spadesmen and twelve hundred porters, besides wagoners and drivers[6]

The safeguarding of so rich a convoy could not but be a matter of the greatest anxiety to Surman and his colleagues. Owing to the dissolution of the Mughal rule, and the consequent carelessness, or weakness of every one in authority, bands of armed robbers infested every road and every province of the empire. The Ujainis who harboured in the hills to the south of Gaya, were the dread of travellers from Patna to Benares[7]. Mewattis lurked in the ravines on the road between Mūsānagar and Agra[8]; and rebellious Jāts plundered pilgrims on their way to Mathura, seizing and holding townships close to the imperial capital itself[9].

It was in inducing the Mughal court to provide for the safe conduct of the present that the English achieved their first diplomatic success. Already, as we have seen, in October, 1713, orders on the subject had been received in Calcutta from Delhi,

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[1] *Diary*, 8.
[2] The *Diary* more than once mentions the Peshkhana. See for instance *Diary*, 220 and 229. At page 11 is a list of some of the tents purchased.
[3] *Diary*, 8.
[4] Probably only a hundred wagons were required for public purposes. See note[4] on page xxiv
[5] *Diary*, 7, 8.
[6] *Ib.*, 7, 8, 275.
[7] *Ib*, 12, 20, 24.
[8] *Ib*, 42
[9] Irvine's *Later Mughals*, section 19, in the *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXIII, I.

requiring all the local governors to guard the treasure through their several governments[1]. The orders received in Patna a year later went a good deal further. As early as September it was reported that the king had decided to send an escort for the present. In October definite information reached Patna that his majesty had commanded a *Chela* of the court with a mace-bearer to go with ambassadors, and had sent instructions to the governors and *diwans* of every province on the road to defray their travelling expenses[2]. At the end of the month the *Chela* and two mace-bearers arrived at Patna with the emperor's orders[3]

The concession of the travelling expenses of the embassy was said to be due to the influence of the grandees at court who were friends of Khwājah Sarhād. But, according to Surman and Stephenson, Khwājah Sarhād 'had no friendship, and at this time hardly any acquaintance, with any of the court grandees. His only connections were with Padre Daniel and a few other disreputable Armenians[4]. These men, acting presumably on the instructions of Sarhād, and fortified by promises of large sums of English money, began to make a great noise in the city during the last months of the year 1713. Padre Daniel did not scruple to declare that the English present was worth fifteen or even thirty lacs of rupees[5]. At the end of the year, when Husain 'Alī left Delhi to go against Ajīt Singh and the court favourites made their effort to seize command of the government, Khān Daurān thought he would do something to please the king and show his ability. It occurred to him that it would be a good thing if he could get the credit of introducing an embassy with so high a present to Delhi. He therefore enquired of the Armenians, through his follower Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, whether the present was really of such great value. A written declaration was handed in to the lord steward's office that the present amounted in value to fifteen lacs of rupees, and a large bribe was given to old Salābat Khān. In this way Khān Daurān was convinced that the present was really a matter of

[1] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 143
[2] *Diary*, 5
[3] *Ib*., 6
[4] See their letter of December 20, 1716, in the *Diary*, 147 to 159
[5] *Diary*, 149

great importance and induced the emperor to grant the payment of the travelling expenses of the embassy[1].

It is clear that wholesale lying of this description, though it might secure temporary advantages to the English embassy, would in the end bring it into complete discredit; and, even as it was, the advantages secured were not so great as they seemed. On October 29, when the *Chela* actually reached Patna bringing the royal orders to the governor, the *dīwān*, and the *buyutāt*, the first two officials were absent from the city[2] and the third began to raise objections. The list of wagons and porters presented to him for sanction was stamped with the sign mark of John Surman, whereas the king's order referred to Khwājah Sarhād[3]. When this difficulty was removed, alterations were proposed in the number and size of the wagons asked for[4]. A few days later, the *dīwān* in his interview with Sarhād demanded a detailed account of the goods to be carried, and objected to providing wagons or porters for any merchandise which did not form part of the present[5]. At first Sarhād consented to strike off sixty wagons and three hundred porters from the list[6], but on reflection he decided that it would be better to ask the king's officers to provide for the whole of the transport[7]. Meanwhile the *dīwān* and the *buyutāt* were disputing as to who should pay the bill and at the same time objecting that the embassy 'was in no readiness to proceed[8]. Upon this they were told that the embassy would certainly start on January 11, 1715, and, accordingly, on that day Surman and his followers left the city and went to their tents under an escort of two hundred horsemen[9]. But they were not yet to proceed. The Nabab Ghairat Khān, being a Bārhah Sayyad, nearly related to the *wazīr*, was not likely to forward any business set on foot by Khān Daurān, or

[1] *Diary*.
[2] *Ib*, 6
[3] *Ib*., 8.
[4] *Ib*.
[5] *Ib*, 9.
[6] He originally asked for 160 wagons, see *Diary* 8 From this it may be inferred that only a hundred wagons were required for the Company's presents. Again, at p 38 of the *Diary*, the merchants' goods overladen are reckoned to weigh 910 *mans*, this is practically fifty seven wagons of 16 *mans* each.
[7] *Diary*, 13
[8] *Ib*., 14.
[9] *Ib*., 14, 19.

supposed to redound to that noble's credit at Court. He therefore now raised objections, urging that as he himself was about to leave the government of Bihār, having been replaced by Mīr Jumlah, he could not take the responsibility of allowing either imperial treasure or the embassy to proceed to Delhi[1]. After six weeks of disputes, he consented to pass orders for its dispatch[2]. Two months' pay was given for the porters, and an escort of two hundred horse promised, which eventually dwindled down to fifty horse and fifty foot[3].

The English, impatient at these numerous delays, were content to go on any terms. For the first part of the way they felt tolerably safe. A judicious letter and presents of cloth, fire-arms, and other useful articles of western manufacture had been sent to Sidisht Nārāyan, the new chief of the Ujainiyah clan, who, with 14,000 horse and 80,000 foot, held command of all the way to Sassaran, and he had in return assured both the nabob and the English that he would not touch the king's present[4] It seemed needless to wait for any further escort or any more money from the nabob. The English therefore gave advances to their retinue and on March 3 arrived at Naubatpur[5], a closely built town some fifteen miles to the south-west of Patna

But here fresh circumstances arose to cause delay. Already on more than one occasion, Khwājah Sarhād had exhibited a disposition to assert his authority over the whole course of the negotiations. He now refused to leave Patna and join his colleagues, professing to be still negotiating for an escort, as he was afraid of the bandits on the road, and to be still in expectation of obtaining further advances from the king's officers. The English attributed all this to sheer perversity and entered a protest against their colleague for his delays[6]. But in the expectation of further advances time proved Sarhād to be right, and the English might have inferred as much from the obvious embarassment which Sarhād's persistency caused the

[1] *Diary*, 19
[2] *Ib*, 23
[3] *Ib*, 23, 24
[4] *Ib.*, 12, 25.
[5] *Ib*, 24, 25.
[6] *Ib*, 24, 28

nabob, who thought that he had got rid of the embassy cheaply and was consequently extremely angry at finding them still on his hands. The deputy of the *buyutāt* was ordered to go out in haste and speed the parting merchants. Sarhād instigated the king's *chela* and the two mace-bearers to stop him, but he escaped them and arrived at Naubatpur on March 22. Close at his heels came K͟hwājah Sarhād[1].

At the consultation held next day, March 23, Sarhād produced a letter from Padre Daniel at Delhi, which might well have given rise to misgivings in the minds of the ambassadors[2]. The English, though as yet they knew it not, had been misdirected from the first by their Armenian agents and had begun their negotiations at Delhi upon altogether wrong lines. Like Jugurtha at Rome, they thought that at Delhi everything was for sale. But the high officers of the Mughal government, though not averse to receiving presents, as the custom was, were not easily to be bribed into disregarding the interests of the state. The Mughal government itself, too, was complicated, and, after its kind highly developed. It was split up into numerous departments each having its own sphere, guided by rulings and precedents, and by state maxims and political doctrines of its own. The great offices of the government were at this time held by the Sayyad brothers, 'Abdullah K͟hān, Qutbu-l-Mulk, the *wazīr*, and Ḥusain 'Alī, Amīru-l-umarā, the chief *bakhshī*. These men and their followers were the real substantial rulers of India; beside them Farruk͟hsīyar, and his favourites, K͟hān Daurān and Mīr Jumlah, were mere shadows. The English were seeking to obtain *farmāns*, or imperial rescripts, and it was a settled rule of the Mughal government that all applications for *farmāns* must be made through the *wazīr*. The present *wazīr*, 'Abdullah K͟hān, was all powerful in the state and was decidedly friendly to the English. Why then did they not address themselves to 'Abdullah K͟hān, the *wazīr*, who alone could get them what they wanted ? Why did they instead go to K͟hān Daurān and his worn-out old follower Sayyad Ṣalābat K͟hān ? K͟hān Daurān it is true was the favourite of the emperor, but as a man he was vain, silly, and weak ; and as an

[1] *Diary*, 28, 29.
[2] *Ib*., 29, 30.

official he was but the subordinate of Ḥusain 'Alī. He had no special interest in the English. If he consented to be their patron and to introduce their embassy, it was for the purely selfish object of gaining a little favour with the emperor by bringing something new to amuse him. But the English ambassadors knew nothing of all this. Their ideas of the Mughal government were derived from their Armenian agents, whose ideas were in turn derived from the merchants and shopkeepers in Delhi. Ignorant people seem always unwilling to believe that government is guided by settled principles. They prefer to suppose that bribery and personal influence can carry any measure. Farrukhsīyar and his favourites with their profuse expenditure were at all times popular with the common people, who would naturally exaggerate the influence of a man like Khān Daurān. The English ambassadors at the beginning undoubtedly had their full share of these illusions, and the process of their disillusionment was slow and painful. It began, or should have begun, with this letter of Padre Daniel

The main object of the letter was to deter the English from having any communications with their old friend Ziāu-d-dīn Khān or with the *wazir*. Their only friends and patrons were to be Khān Daurān and Salābat Khān, and these persons could be approached only through friendly Armenians. Padre Daniel appealed to his former successes in confirmation of his statements. He was the real friend of the English. When their enemies had said it was not worth while spending a lac of rupees for a present worth two lacs, he had magnified the value of the present and declared it to be worth from ten to fifteen lacs. No *elchi* had ever been granted such favours since Tamerlane. But his efforts would be of no effect if the English began to write to Ziāu-d-dīn Khān and Monsieur Martin, the king's doctor, as John Surman had already done. Instead of this they ought to write letters of thanks to his friends, the grandees at court, who had already done so much[1].

Whatever else might have been gathered from this letter, it might certainly have been inferred that Daniel was a man with no regard for the truth, and it might have been considered

[1] *Diary*, 29, 30.

whether such an one was fit to be entrusted with the honour and interests of the English at Delhi. But the English in reply were content to say that Daniel was misinformed in supposing that they had entered into negotiations with any other parties, and that they would write to Khān Daurān and Ṣalābat Khān. At the same time, they pointed out that he was altogether wrong in asserting that the present amounted to ten or fifteen lacs of rupees, and that such statements were highly improper in the king's darbar[1].

After spending a few days at Naubatpur, Khwājah Sarhād returned to Patna, and renewed his negotiations to obtain a further advance of money, negotiations in which he at last succeeded.

[1] *Diary*, 31, 32.

CHAPTER V

THE JOURNEY TO DELHI

Delay breeds delay. Whilst Sarhād was negotiating in Patna fresh obstacles sprang up at Naubatpur. The wagoners and porters hired for the three months' journey to Delhi were to be paid in advance by instalments. In accordance with this arrangement, two months' pay had been given to the porters at the beginning of March, and a further sum of two thousand rupees had been made over to the embassy which was to be paid to them on reaching Allahabad[1]. Owing to Sarhād's protracted negotiations, the beginning of April found the embassy still at Naubatpur, and the porters, seeing that they would be required to undertake a two months' journey with only one month's pay in hand, not unnaturally grew mutinous, and demanded a further advance of money. The hardship of the wagoners was still more real. Five months ago, the embassy had decided to hire wagons[2]. A month later, it had begun to load the goods[3]. Then it had declared that the journey and the payment of wages should begin from January 11, but in February the wagons still stood laden with goods, many of them rotting in the rain[4]. It is therefore not surprising that, when the deputy of the *buyutāt* arrived at the end of March, and tendered them an advance of two months' pay, their patience gave way, and they demanded compensation for the past demurrage, and for the extra loads of private merchandise with which the English had burdened the wagons. It was not till after a good deal of discussion that the deputy of the *buyutāt* was able to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of these claims. The English agreed to pay the wagoners for all excess weight of merchandise, at the rate of three hundred rupees a ton, and gave them a promissory note for the demurrage due from their first decampment[5]. The porters were induced to give an obligation to proceed, on being lent twentyfour thousand rupees and receiving a promise of

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[1] *Diary*, 23 and 43
[2] *Ib*, 5
[3] *Ib*, 9
[4] *Ib*, 22
[5] *Ib*, 34, 35

twenty thousand rupees at Allahabad, which was to be reached in forty-eight days[1].

On April 7, the long caravan left Naubatpur[2], and moved along the road to the south-west, which skirts the eastern bank of the Son river, the golden Eranoboas of the Greeks. In addition to the escort provided by the government and a small body of European soldiers, the English had taken into their service fifty horse and four hundred foot[3]. They had also, as has been said, done their best to propitiate their local Fra Diavolo, Sidisht Nārāyan. For these reasons, or else because the attention of the Ujainis was engaged in other matters, the embassy proceeded on its way unmolested.

On April 14, they reached Ghatauli[4], a village standing on the bank of the Son, some two miles north of the point where it is crossed by the Grand Trunk Road. On April 17, Khwājah Sarhād joined the embassy. He had been fairly successful in his negotiations, and had brought with him nearly ten thousand rupees. He had also been to the camp of Mīr Jumlah, the discredited court favourite who had come to take over the government of Patna, and Mīr Jumlah had given him a letter to Khān Daurān, and had said that he had also written to the king on behalf of the English. With Sarhād had come the *mihmāndār*, a hundred horse and a hundred foot. But Sarhād did not think it safe to proceed even with this additional escort, and it was resolved to make an attempt to gain the protection of Ghairat Khān, the returning ex-governor of Patna, at any rate as far as Benares[5].

On April 21, the Son was crossed, and their feet were set on the great highway leading from Bengal to the North-West[6]. At Sasseram, not far from the road, the lion king who made it lay buried in his island tomb. A little further on were the tents of Mīr Jumlah. But the English preferred the living dog to the dead lion, and, while they hurried past Sasseram, deemed it

[1] *Diary*, 36.
[2] *Ib.*, 37.
[3] *Ib.*, 15.
[4] *Ib.*, 37.
[5] *Ib.*
[6] *Ib.*, 38.

'an absolute necessity' to visit Mīr Jumlah in a body, and gratify him and his officers with costly gifts[1].

On May day, the travellers reached the Karmnāsā, the boundary between the provinces of Allahabad and Bihār, a polluting river, abhorred by pious Hindus, which destroys the merit of all good works. The guilty king, Trisanka, so runs the legend, who tried to make himself equal with the gods, hangs, head downwards, between earth and heaven, above the stream, and taints its waters with the foul drops, which fall from him in his torment. Fortunately, at this time of the year, the bed of the river would be nearly dry, so that the most orthodox might well cross it without wetting their feet. A single day sufficed for the passage; and, on May 4, the caravan arrived at the banks of the Ganges, over against Benares[2].

Viewed from the spot where they stood, the sacred city is a picturesque and imposing spectacle. The lofty cliff overhanging the curving river, crowned for three or four miles with temples and palaces, the varied flights of massive steps descending to the sacred stream, the thronging multitudes of worshippers, all combine to form a delightful and fascinating picture of surpassing loveliness. What emotions might we not expect the English ambassadors to feel on beholding for the first time one of the most beautiful of the many beautiful cities of the north-west ! But, if they felt them, they certainly kept their feelings to themselves. The entries in the diary are most prosaic and businesslike. For four days, or more, they were ferrying over their goods. On May 8, a prodigious storm of wind and rain did some damage. On May 9 they passed the city of Benares[3].

Somewhere about Benares the embassy seems to have fallen in with Ghairat Khān, the late governor of Patna, whose place had been taken by Mīr Jumlah. The English travelled for many days in his company , but, at Allahābād, finding the rate of progress rather too slow, they respectfully took leave of his honour, and resolved once more to go on their way alone[4]. Ghairat Khān was anxious to keep them with him, in order

[1] *Diary* 38
[2] *Ib* 39
[3] *Ib*
[4] *Ib* , 40, 41

that he might have the credit of bringing the present safe to Delhi, and it was not without some difficulty that they were able to leave Allahābād. At the instigation of G͟hairat K͟hān, differences once again arose between the embassy and its servants. On May 22, the porters, discontented with the scanty allowance given them by the government, set upon K͟hwājah Sarhād, pelting him with stones, and were only pacified by receiving a donative of thirty-six thousand rupees from Mr. Surman[1]. On May 25, when the embassy had got beyond the city of Allahābād, the wagoners refused to proceed any further, and began to desert their wagons. They demanded the immediate payment of the demurrage promised them, amounting to Rs. 1,970 for 56 days, and Surman was again forced to relax his purse strings[2].

For more than a week the caravan proceeded smoothly and contentedly over the hot tongue of land, to the west of Allahābād, till, on June 6, it reached Mūsānagar, an ancient town standing on the banks of the Jumna, not far from its confluence with the Sengar[3]. In the neighbourhood of these two large streams the country becomes wild and rugged. Here according to the old proverb, many a battle and many a kingdom have been lost and won; and the deep ravines, now the haunt of the deer and the leopard, were in the times of Farruk͟hīsyar the lurking places of predatory races, thieves, and cattle-lifters. The whole road to Agra, it is said, was infested with Mewātis, and it was not until the English had reinforced their armed escort with an additional part of forty-five foot soldiers that they allowed their lengthy caravan to pass over the great five-arched bridge which spans the Sengar at Chapargha†ṭa[4]. Good fortune still attended them; and, on June 16, they reached I'timādpur, twelve miles from Agra, without having met anything worse than a storm of rain[5]. The founder of the town, I'timād Khān, the servant of Akbar, lay buried here, and beyond the camping ground, near the road, was the great reservoir of water which he constructed. The rustics call it the old woman's pond, and still

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[1] *Diary*, 40, 42,
[2] *Ib*, 41, 42.
[3] *Ib*. 44
[4] *Ib*. 45
[5] *Ib*., 46.

tell how, in the troubled days that are past, an ancient witch would crouch on its south-west side, watching for unwary travellers, ready to give the signal for attack, if she thought them an easy prey. On this occasion the witch could not have been at her post, or her judgment failed her. One robber came to the camp; but the English killed him.

On June 17, the embassy reached Rājghāt, over against the red fort of Akbar, and received the news that Queen Anne was dead. They proclaimed King George with due ceremony, and crossed the river to Agra[1]. To the modern traveller the road from this point onwards to Delhi is full of charm and interest. Passing by the splendid pyramid-like tomb of the greatest of the Mughals, in two marches you reach the sacred city of Mathurā, rich in Buddhist and Hindu antiquities; from whence a magnificent and almost unbroken canopy of over-arching boughs stretches for thirty miles towards the imperial city. But for the earlier travellers the journey was cheerless and uninteresting, and the country a howling wilderness, overrun with marauding Jāts. At intervals, massive, fort-like hostleries with battlemented walls, flanking turrets, and high arched gateways, offered shelter from the dangers of the night. But, with all these means of defence, the road was never safe for a force of less than five hundred, and it is on record that, in the days of Jahāngīr, a caravan waited for six weeks in Mathurā, gathering strength to proceed. On June 27, while the English lay at Chaumuha[2], one of the five cities of refuge on the way to Delhi, gangs of armed robbers attacked the camp three times in the night, but were beaten off, with the loss of five men wounded. On July 3, the embassy was at Farīdābād, a small town sixteen miles south-west of Delhi, and were met by Padre Stephanus, who brought dresses of honour from the king, one for Surman, and one for Sarhād[3]. The next day, they reached the great bridge of eleven arches to the south of Humāyun's tomb, and 'prepared' for their 'entry[4].

The Dutch embassy to Bāhādur Shāh, in 1711, had entered

[1] *Diary*, 46
[2] *Ib.*
[3] *Ib*, 49.
[4] *Ib*, 48

Lahor with much state, and the English ambassadors were similarly anxious to 'aggrandise their first appearance'. They wished to be creditably received by some high functionary, and to be allowed to visit the king before proceeding to the house which had been prepared for their entertainment, and in these respects their wishes were gratified. A captain of two thousand, bringing with him two elephants and flags, escorted them to the city with two hundred horse and foot and a noise of drums and trump. At the outward gate, they were met by Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, whose guests they were to be, by whom they were conducted to the imperial palace. On the way, in order to create a favourable impression, they scattered handfuls of money in the streets. At the palace, they were presented to their great friend Khān Daurān. About noon, the emperor showed himself in the hall of audience, and the English, introduced by their patron Khān Daurān, presented his majesty with Governor Hedges's letter, and with their first offering of rare and costly things, a thousand and one pieces of gold, a table clock set with precious stones, a unicorn's horn, a gold escritoire, a large piece of ambergris, a silver ewer and basin, and a map of the world. The king, in return, invested Surman with a robe of gold *zarbaft* and a jewelled plume, and Sarhād with an equally rich dress and dagger. Then the ambassadors withdrew to their own quarters, where Ṣalābat Khān entertained them with a great dinner and afterwards visited them in the evening[1].

[1] *Diary*, 45 to 47

Chapter VI

FARRUKHSĪYAR CURED BY HAMILTON

All this was well enough; but the false position in which the English had been placed by their Armenian representatives now began to make itself felt. According to the established etiquette of the Mughal court, the person next to be visited after the king was the *wazīr*, and the ambassadors had further strong reasons for doing so, inasmuch as he was not merely an all-powerful minister, but was also well disposed to the English, and the only proper channel through which requests for *farmāns* could be made. But their Armenian advisers, with that preference for backstairs influence and irregular procedure which characterises the lower classes, entirely misrepresented the state of affairs at Delhi, maintaining that the *wazīr* was only titular[1] and that the executive power lay chiefly with Khān Daurān, the deputy *bakhshī* The English ambassadors accordingly considered themselves bound to invert the correct order of their visits of ceremony, and agreed to deliberately insult the personage in the state by first visiting his younger brother's deputy, Khān Daurān, and afterwards the *wazīr* the high steward, and their old friend Ziāu-d-dīn Khān[2].

But if the English ambassadors supposed that through the singular influence of Khān Daurān their negotiations would be speedily brought to a favourable conclusion, the events which almost immediately followed their arrival should have begun to open their eyes. Scarcely had they been a week in Delhi, when the restless Farrukhsīyar took it into his head to go on one of his many expeditions, and to wander forth from the city upon the northern road[3]: At first he declared that he was going to worship at a local shrine, then he pretended that he

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[1] *Diary*. 48 In his letter dated July 17, 1715, *Diary*, 50, 51, Surman says that the methods they are taking are consistent with the advice and counsel of Ziau-d-din Khān But in this he must have been mistaken I can hardly believe that Ziāu-d-dīn Khān, who was a friend of the *wazir*, and knew the true state of affairs at Court, can have thought it wise to neglect the *wazir* and go to Khān Daurān

[2] *Diary*., 48, 50

[3] *Ib*., 50.

was on his way to Ajmer, or Lahor[1]. The ambassadors, alarmed at the prospect of another toilsome march, in the train of the Mughal, determined to give the greater portion of their present at once. The king, however, changed his mind. He merely intended to go to Pānīpat to pray at the tomb of Bū-'Alī Qalandar, and he sent back the English clocks to keep in good order till his return to the city[2]. In these circumstances, the ambassadors sent their tents to join the imperial camp, concluding 'that it was necessary to attend his majesty in the journey,'[3] and were rewarded during the next three weeks with numerous opportunities of making their obeisance to the king on the road[4].

It is clear, from their correspondence at this time, that the king was not thinking about them. 'We now continue in the camp,' they write on August 4,[5] 'leaving Mr. Stephenson and Mr. Philips to take care of what goods remain in the city, and, in case that the king should proceed farther, that they concert measures to bring the goods after us, we are in this interval preparing petitions to be delivered to his Majesty, hoping we shall do something for our honourable masters that has not been yet obtained. The patronage and management of this negotiation is in the hands of the greatest favourite at court Khān Daurān, and under him of Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, withal we being no ways unmindful of our old friend Ziāu-d-dīn Khān, without whose advice we enter upon nothing. But he being at present in a low station is not able to obtain the king's ear. However we are satisfied that, whatever lies in his power, he does and will assist us, but particularly in the *wazīr's darbār*.

'Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Amīru-l-umarā, is lately gone into the Deccan country, having the entire command of all that part of this kingdom. Your Honour and Council have doubtless heard how great he has made himself, even to vie with the commands of his Majesty, as lately appeared in the disputes between himself and Mīr Jumlah, whilst at court, when he

[1] *Diary*, 56
[2] *Ibid*, 54, 56.
[3] *Ib.*, 57.
[4] *Ib*, 58.
[5] *Ib.*, 57.

obliged his antagonist, contrary to the king's desires, to remove from the Court to Patna, where by the interest of Amīru-l-umarā, and his own mismanagement, he is quite ruined.'

'We have advices here', they continue at the end of the month,[1] 'that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Dāūd Khān are come to a rupture in Burhānpur, so that it's likely a battle will ensue, the latter having engaged many of the Deccan country to his party. It's whispered at this court that this is a design laid to involve Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in trouble and retrench his grandeur which of late has not been very pleasing.'

'The king proceeding no further than Pānīpat, returned to the city on the 18th instant; but, being a little disordered in his health, has not made any public appearance, so that we have not had an opportunity to deliver the remaining of our present, or commence our negotiation.'

A letter, dated October 6, gives the conclusion of the contest in the Deccan[2] 'Your Honour and Council will have heard of the death of Dāūd Khān in Deccan, slain in a battle with Amīru-l-umarā. This has given a great deal of uneasiness to this court, it being quite otherwise laid by the king and his favourites, and that which was designed for Amīru-l-umarā's ruin has proved a great addition to his former glories. The king at first seemed to resent it to his brother [*the wazīr*], who not taking it so patiently as he expected, he has altered his resolution to sending Husain 'Alī Khān a *sar-o-pa* and other marks of favour.'

If the English were not beginning to see the necessity of conciliating the *wazīr*, they must have been blind indeed to the signs of the times.

From his accession, Farrukhsīyar seems to have been in indifferent health, and it has been suggested that physical debility and degeneration may account in part for the weakness of mind and character which he displayed as a ruler[3]. However that may be, towards the end of the year 1715, the emperor's complaints reached a climax, which produced unexpected

[1] *Diary*, 67
[2] *Ib*, 73.
[3] Irvine's *Later Mughals*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXIII, i.

consequences for the English mission. For some time past, Hamilton, the doctor to the embassy, had been in request at the Mughal's camp and court. At first he was ordered to 'give physic' to the high steward[1], with whom he took up his residence[2], but whose distemper he pronounced incurable[3]. In August, on his return to Delhi, the king was found to be suffering from swellings in the groin and put himself in Hamilton's hands with the most beneficial results[4]. In a few weeks' time, he was sufficiently recovered to be married to the Jodhpur princess, the daughter of Ajīt Singh. The young bride should have been brought to the court in the year 1714 by Ḥusain 'Alī, but he had not been able to remain long enough in Rājputānah to do so. In May, 1715, when Ḥusain 'Alī had set out for the Deccan, the emperor's maternal uncle, Shāistah K͟hān, had been sent to bring the princess from Jodhpur, and arrived with her on September 13. She was conducted to the house of Ḥusain 'Alī where she was treated as if she had been his own daughter, and, in the absence of Ḥusain 'Alī himself, preparations for the wedding were at once made by his brother, the *wazīr*. Four days later, the emperor repaired to the house of the *wazīr*, where the princess was admitted to the Moslem faith, and the marriage rite was celebrated by S͟harīyat K͟hān, the chief *qāzī*[5].

But, at this point, further ceremonies and rejoicings were stayed by the renewed indisposition of the emperor, and recourse was again had to the English treatment which had before proved so satisfactory. On October 3, the empress-mother herself sent for Dr. Hamilton, and, with K͟hwājah Sarhād to interpret, a long conference was held on the subject of his Majesty's health[6]. This time the king was suffering from a violent pain which he feared would turn to fistula. The disease, whatever it was, taxed all Hamilton's skill for nearly two months, during which he was doubtless exposed to much misrepresentation and jealousy. The introduction of a new physician could not have been pleasing

[1] *Diary*, 54.
[2] *Ib.*, 59
[3] *Ib.*, 72
[4] *Ib*, 58.
[5] Irvine's *Later Mughals* Chapter IV, Section 17, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXXII, Pt. I, page 61.
[6] *Diary*, 72.

to the king's French doctor Monsieur Martin, or to the Hindu and Muhammadan practitioners at the court, and it seems to have excited the suspicions of the populace On one occasion, as Hamilton was 'coming from the fort at night, his head was cut with a pebble, of which the king being informed, he ordered search to be made for the offender and gave the doctor people for his protection'[1]. On another occasion, in consequence of a rumour that the king had died under the surgeon's hands, the house of the English ambassadors is said to have been surrounded by an angry mob, who were only to be appeased by Farrukhsīyar's showing himself from a gallery of the palace[2]. At length on November 20, all the plasters having been removed, the king washed himself, and received the congratulations of the whole court[3]. A week later, he publicly presented Hamilton with a jewelled plume, a vest, two diamond rings, an elephant, horse and five thousand rupees. 'His Majesty further, ordered buttons for a whole suit of clothes to be made of gold, and set with diamonds, and rubies, as also the handles of all his small instruments of solid gold. Khwājah Sarhād, having been very assistant during the king's illness, as interpreter received a vest and an elephant'[4]. Three days afterwards, Monsieur Martin had given him 'a vest, elephant, and a thousand rupees a favour purely owing to his Majesty's generosity, and because he was his servant'[5].

The king being thus restored to health, the court and city turned their attention to the interrupted marriage ceremonies. On December 1, the wedding gifts, lavishly provided by the empress-mother, were sent to the bride, with a numerous escort of nobles, who were royally entertained by the *wazīr*. 'Husain 'Alī' says, the historian,[6] 'who thought his honour concerned, as the princess had been brought to court by his means, made it a point to give that solemnity all the magnificence for which Hindusthan is famous; and he made such

[1] *Diary*, 75
[2] Scott's *Ferishta* II, v 139, edition of 1794, in the account of Ferokh'sere.
[3] *Diary*, 76, 77 In the latter on page 77 the date is given as November 23.
[4] *Diary*, 76
[5] *Ib*, 77
[6] *Seru-l-mutakharin*. Reprint of Raymond's translation, Calcutta, 1902, I, 76

preparations for the bride and the bridegroom as exceeded all that had ever been heard of in the capital, as well as that had been done for the greatest rajas and kings of the Deccan, or jewels, and illuminations surpassed by much anything that had been done by the emperor himself. As soon as night came on, an infinity of fires and imitative stars threw out at once such a blaze as seemed to dispute pre-eminence with the starry host of the firmament, and to reproach it with its inferior twinkling. Whilst artificial parterres, by the variety of their colours, gave the beholder an idea of the celebrated garden of Irem. Pleasures and shows of all sorts, as well as splendid entertainments, followed each other with so uninterrupted a profusion, that the lowest man in the city could partake of them, as well as the highest. Surprise, delight, and hilarity pervaded all classes. Such were the throngs and the crowds of attendance, and such the concourse of spectators, that the streets and markets of such an immense city seemed to have become narrower, and each of them more uneasy than the heart of a lover in despair.' On December 7, the whole city and palace were illuminated. At nine in the evening, Farrukhsīyar, seated on his *sedia gestatoria*, or moving throne, left the palace by the Delhi gate, in a splendid procession for the house of the *wazīr*, whence he returned late at night with his bride, re-entering the palace by the Lahor gate. At the *wazīr's*, some new ceremonies of Hindu origin were introduced, in addition to those usual at Moslem weddings. A mixture of rosewater, sugar and opium was offered to the guests to drink, which caused remark. There was also a gold plate, with five divisions, filled with precious stones, diamonds in the first division rubies in the second, emeralds in the third, topazes in the fourth, and in the fifth and central division, large and valuable pearls. The popular rejoicings continued for another week and were not concluded till December 15[1]. On December 28, Hamilton received a dress of honour, horse and a thousand rupees from the empress-mother; Khwājah Sarhād, and Monsieur Martin, received each a dress of honour and five hundred rupees[2].

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[1] Irvine's *Later Mughals* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXVII, I, 61, 62.

[2] *Diary*, 76.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST PETITION

The English ambassadors were now in a position of great advantage for pursuing their mission. That they stood high in the favour of the court there could be no doubt. But they must have stood almost as high in the favour of the *wazir*, for the marriage of the king with the Jodhpur princess was a point of importance to the Sayyad brothers, and the marriage might never have been completed but for the skill of Hamilton. If, therefore, the English had at this time preferred their requests to the emperor through the *wazir*, we can hardly doubt that they would have been most favourably considered and readily granted. Unfortunately, the English had been from the first diverted from the proper course by their Armenian Agents, and, since their arrival at Delhi, had already taken several further steps in the wrong direction.

Their original petition to the king had been prepared as long ago as August last. It contained nineteen articles, of which the first eight related to Bengal. In them the English sought for a fresh imperial *farmān*, confirming the previous grant of the right of free trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the *nishān*, allowing them to rent the three villages of Sutānutī, Calcutta, and Govindpur. They further asked that they might be permitted to acquire on similar terms thirty-eight other villages, adjacent to Calcutta, and also some thirteen acres of land for a factory at Patna They suggested that the town of Calcutta should be renamed Farrukhbandai, and that the three villages, with the thirty-eight new villages, should be combined into a single pargana to be called Farrukhābād. They desired permission to buy goods at Hugli without hindrance, and freedom generally from vexatious cesses and dues. They required that three days a week should be set apart at the Murshidābād mint for coining bullion, that the *diwān* should be content with copies of their grants and not insist on seeing the originals, and that the government should take steps to prevent the local robberire to which trade was everywhere exposed. Three articles followed of a more general nature,

praying that Madras rupees might pass current like those of Surat, that help might be given to English ships in distress at sea, and that absconding servants or debtors of the Company should be handed over to the Company's authorities. Turning to the Coromandel Coast, the English not only asked that their former commercial privileges should be confirmed, and, in particular, that the five villages of Madras and the territory of Fort St. David should be granted them again, but also sought to acquire villages in Vizagapatam, and the island of Divi near Masulipatam. The last three articles were concerned with the western side of India, and more especially with Surat. These articles demanded that the trade at that post, in consideration of the annual payment of a lump sum, should be declared custom free, that a site should be given for a factory, and a large plot of ground for a garden, and that the passes of the English chief should protect the Company's agents from being molested[1].

The petition, it appears, was, in the first instance shown privately to Taqarrub Khān, the high steward, who caused it to be examined and redrafted in a condensed form, as he objected to lengthy, tedious documents. The proposal to rename the town of Calcutta and the pargana was struck out, as being liable to give rise to awkward questions[2]. On November 15, when the king was pronounced completely cured, the English took the opportunity of giving him the remainder of the present, only reserving a small part for the occasion of the marriage ceremony. At the same time they delivered their petition, not to the *wazīr*, the only proper channel for requests for *farmāns*, but to Khān Daurān, the deputy *bakhshī*[3]. He presented it to the king in December when the marriage ceremonies were finished, but it was returned with orders that it should be examined and noted upon by the officers of the *dīwānī* or treasury[4].

This was hardly what the English had expected. They had been led to believe that Khān Daurān was all-powerful with the king, and they expected that a petition presented by him would have been almost immediately granted. They could

[1] *Diary*, 59 to 65.
[2] *Ib.*, 74.
[3] *Ib.*, 75.
[4] *Ib.*, 79.

only account for the delay by supposing that Khān Daurān had allowed himself to be influenced by other subordinates than Ṣalābat Khān, subordinates whom the embassy had thitherto neglected. According to the explanations put forward by Surman and Stephenson, Rājah Gūjar Mal, *dīwān-i-tan*, and the *wakil*, Nath Mal considered that they had had too small a share in the profit which Ṣalābat Khān had made out of the English. When consulted by Khān Daurān, they advised the reference to the treasury out of spite[1]. Surman and Stephenson now perceived that the comments passed on the articles in the petition by the treasury clerks must have an important effect upon the issue of the case, and that a great advantage would be gained, if those comments were favourable. They, therefore, urged Sarhād 'to take particular care' of the treasury officers, and were assured by him that all would be well[2]. The event was a bitter disappointment. Sarhād failed to perform what he had promised. The petition was returned by the treasury clerks with unfavourable comments[3]. In this form it was presented by Khān Daurān to the emperor, who, on January 27, 1716, signed and returned the documents, accepting the answers suggested by the treasury against the several articles[4]. The result was that, while the emperor conceded a good many matters of minor importance, the weightiest part of the petition was not granted[5]. The request for a *farmān* was ignored, and the ambassadors had to begin their negotiations afresh

On January 29, a second petition of seven articles was drawn up and sent to Khān Daurān for presentation[6]. In the first five articles, the English renewed their request for *farmāns* confirming the grant of free trade in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and granting them a house and garden in Surat, the territory in Vizagapatam and the island of Divi, and the thirty-eight villages in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. At Divi island they promised to make a harbour, which, they said, considering there was no port to shelter ships on the Coromandel coast,

[1] *Diary*, 105, 112
[2] *Ib*, 112
[3] *Ib*, 81-3
[4] *Ib*, 84-5, 91-2
[5] *Ib*., 152
[6] *Ib*, 86-90.

would be a particular advantage to his Majesty's dominions. As for the villages near Calcutta, unless these were granted by a *farmān*, no one would let the Company acquire them, nor would the *dīwān* give any assistance. The last two articles contained new requests for 'the liberty of a mint in Bombay' and 'for redress to those barbarities committed by rogues round Calcutta.'

At this juncture, the course of the negotiations was for the time interrupted by renewed disturbances at the court. It had been part of the arrangement, which settled the first set of differences between the Sayyads and the emperor, that Mīr Jumlah should remain at Patna. But, owing to his reckless management, there, he was unable to meet the pay of a turbulent force of Mughal troops, that he had taken into his service. Partly to escape from their demands, and partly, as was believed, in obedience to secret instructions from the emperor, he suddenly left his government at the end of the year 1715. As far as Benares, he came openly. After that, to avoid all chance of being stopped by the *wazīr*, he travelled as quickly as possible in a covered litter and secretly arrived at Delhi on the night of January 6. The *wazīr* at once went to the emperor, and threatened him with the return of Ḥusain 'Alī, and the emperor, in a fright, sent peremptory orders to Mīr Jumlah to withdraw to Lahor. But days passed by, and Mīr Jumlah procrastinated. At length his Mughal troops broke into revolt and attacked the houses of the nobles. After a month of license and disturbance, they could only be got rid of by the payment of ten lakhs of rupees. Mīr Jumlah was deprived of his offices and titles, and ordered to proceed to Lahor. On February 22, Nizāmu-l-mulk conducted him on the way as far as Narela[1].

In this same month February, 1716, it was the fortune of the ambassadors to come face to face with the representatives of that Indian sect, which has been in the end most closely associated with the fortunes of the English in India, the last to dispute with them for empire, the first to help them in reconquering it. For many years the Sikhs had been giving trouble to the Mughal Government. On the death of Guru Gobind

[1] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, IV, 22, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*; also *Diary*, 79, 83, 95, 96.

Singh, in 1708, it might have been expected that these troubles would cease. But his followers and family almost immediately brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the dead guru, and who claimed to be the guru restored to life. The false guru, whose real name appears to have been Bandah, after routing the *faujdār* of Sonpaṭ in a sudden attack, made his way to the hills north-east of Sirhind. Forty thousand men soon gathered round him. With these he attacked and took the town of Sirhind. The old *faujdār* was killed by a musket shot, and his body hung to a tree. The town was given up to pillage for four days, during which the Sikhs committed excesses of every kind. The outbreak soon grew to such dimensions, that it became necessary for the emperor in person to march against the Sikhs and their new guru, whom he came upon at the fort of Lōhgaṛh, between Nāhan and Sārdhanā[1]. In the fighting which ensued, the fort was taken, but, through the devotion of his followers, the guru escaped Consequently, the troubles of the Mughal government began all over again, and fresh efforts were necessary to crush Bandah. At last, after years of fighting, Bandah was shut up in Gurudaspur, a small town fortyfour miles north-east of Amritsar. Closely besieged for eight months, during which they were reduced to unspeakable extremities, on December 7, 1715, the very day of Farrukhsīyar's bridal procession, Bandah and his followers were forced to surrender unconditionally to 'Abdu-ṣ-samad Khān, the imperial general, who ordered that some two or three of them should be at once executed, and the rest kept to be exhibited in the capital and there solemnly put to death. The triumphant entry of the conquerors into Delhi took place, according to the Surman diary, on February 17, 1716[2]. The ceremonial on this occasion was copied from that observed after the capture of the Marāṭhā, Sambhā Ji Malice did its utmost to cover the vanquished with ridicule and shame First came the heads of the executed Sikhs, stuffed with straw, and stuck on bamboos, their long hair streaming in the wind like a veil, and along with them, to show that every living creature in Gurudaspur had perished, a dead cat on a pole. The teacher himself, dressed

[1] (? Ambalah, W I)
[2] *Diary*, 95

out of mockery in a turban of red cloth, embroidered with gold, and a heavy robe of brocade, flowered with pomegranates, sat in an iron cage, placed on the back of an elephant. Behind him, stood a mail-clad officer, with a drawn sword. After him, came the other prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number, seated two and two upon camels without saddles. Each wore a high fool's cap of sheepskin and had one hand pinned to his neck, between two pieces of wood. Many were also dressed in sheepskins with the woolly side turned outwards. At the end of the procession rode three great nobles, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, sent by the emperor to bring in the prisoners, Kamru-d-dīn, his son, and Zakariya Khān, his son-in-law, who being also the son of 'Abdu-s-samad Khān had been deputed to represent his father at the ceremony. The road to the palace, for several miles, was lined with troops and filled with exultant crowds, who mocked at the teacher and laughed at the grotesque appearance of his followers. They wagged their heads and pointed the finger of scorn at the poor wretches as they passed. 'Hu ! Hu ! infidel dogworshippers, your day has come. Truly retribution follows on transgression, as wheat springs from wheat, and barley from barley' Yet the triumph could not have seemed quite complete. Not all the insults that their enemies had invented could rob the teacher and his followers of their natural dignity. Without any sign of dejection or shame, they rode on, calm, cheerful, even anxious to die the death of martyrs. Life was promised to any who would renounce their faith, but they would not prove false to their guru, and at the place of suffering their constancy was wonderful to look at 'Me, deliverer, kill me first,' was the prayer which constantly rang in the ears of the executioner. One there was, a young man, an only son, whose widowed mother had made many supplications to the Mughal officers, declaring that her son was a Sikh prisoner, and no follower of the guru. A release was granted and she hastened to the prison-house to claim her son. But the boy turned from her to meet his doom, crying, 'I know not this woman. What does she want with me ? I am a true and loyal follower of the guru.' For a whole week the sword of the executioner did its butchers' work. Every day a hundred brave men perished and at nightfall the headless bodies

were loaded into carts, taken out of the city, and hung upon trees. It was not till June 19, that Bandah himself was led out to execution, all efforts having failed to buy him off. They dressed him, as on the day of his entry, set him again on the elephant, and took him away to the old city, where the red Quṭb minar lifts its proud head of white marble over the crumbling walls of the Hindu fortresses. Here they paraded him round the tomb of the late emperor, Bahādur Shāh, and put him to a barbarous death. First, they made him dismount, placed his child in his arms and bade him kill it. Then, as he shrank with horror from the act, they ripped open the child before its father's eyes, thrust its quivering flesh into his mouth, and hacked him to pieces limb by limb[1].

[1] Irvine, *Political History of the Sikhs*, in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for January and April, 1894, 420-31, and *Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1894, I, 112-43. Also *Diary*, 96-97

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECOND PETITION

During these two months the English made practically no progress with their second petition. The reason is obvious. Khān Daurān, their patron, had done all that he was capable of doing. He could not procure them the *farmāns* they required. Ṣalābat Khān, in whose house Surman lived, might well have told them the truth. But the old man was too eager to make all the money he could out of his credulous clients, and took anxious to pose as their patron. He took good care, therefore, not to disabuse the English, and allowed them to attribute the delay in their business to anything but the right cause. It was said that Khān Daurān was a man of dilatory habits. He never gave audience in public to persons who wished to see him on business. The only way to speak with him was to catch him as he passed from his rooms to his palanquin. Even Ṣalābat Khān had very few opportunities of seeing him in private[1]. Consequently, almost all their communications had to be made in writing, a slow, but by no means sure method of negotiation. Besides, the aggrieved subordinates, who had spoilt the first petition, were still unwilling to bring the English affairs to a speedy conclusion, considering that by gaining time they would also gain money[2].

As a matter of fact, though the English would not understand it, there was only one course to be taken with reference to their irregular application for *farmāns*. As Khān Daurān's advisers correctly pointed out, it was not for him to persuade the king to agree to a second petition conceding the very points which had been just refused, the whole business should properly be referred to the *wazir*[3]. In these views Khān Daurān naturally acquiesced. One day, towards the middle of March, when Sarhād, paying his respects as usual to his patron, ventured to remind him of the second petition, the great man suddenly became frank. 'Petition !' cried he, 'What petition ? Have I

[1] *Diary*, 97, 99, 100.
[2] *Ib.*, 105, 113.
[3] *Ib*, 98-100.

not done all your business ?' K̲h̲wājah Sarhād tried to explain but before he could say many words, K̲h̲ān Daurān got into his palanquin and went away[1]. On March 21, after waiting nearly two months, the English received back their second petition with the direction to apply to the *wazīr*[2]. The advice was sound, but the English would not take it. They clung obstinately to their original erroneous views

Meanwhile, on March 19, the king had left the city on the pretence of hunting[3]. This gave Ṣalabāt K̲h̲ān fresh opportunities for intrigues, ostensibly for the benefit of the English, but really for the benefit of his own pocket.

According to his own story, on March 23, having occasion to eat and sleep in the same place with K̲h̲ān Daurān, he took the opportunity of enlarging upon the griefs of the ambassadors. 'It was by your kindness,' he told his lordship, 'that the English after waiting many years were encouraged to bring their present to the court and to enter upon their negotiations. You promised to protect them and to grant all their reasonable demands. All their addresses to his majesty have been by your means. You yourself have had the credit of delivering in their present, the like of which has never been made by any European nation to the kings of India. They are therefore naturally concerned at finding their papers turned over to the *wazīr*. How can they go to him with any honour to themselves, or to you ? What can they expect except to be treated as cast-off favourites ? They are not aware of having done anything to deserve this punishment, and they hope that you will reconsider their case. In short, they depend entirely on you, and are resolved not to go to the *wazīr*. If you will not prosecute their business, they will leave Delhi, and negotiate no more.' Moved by this discourse, K̲h̲ān Daurān, according to Ṣalābat Khān, agreed to take back the papers, and get the second petition signed by the emperor as soon as the hunting should be over, and the English, with much satisfaction, resumed their misdirected negotiations[4].

Twenty days later a fresh check occurred. A quarrel arose

[1] *Diary*, 100.
[2] *Ib*, 98-9.
[3] *Ib*, 98
[4] *Ib*, 103-4.

between the dependants of their patron and those of another great noble, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, as they were coming from audience with the king, which, as soon as their masters had withdrawn to their tents, developed into a down-right fight. The two sides assailed each other for two hours with small arms, bombs and great guns. At last, after some hundred men had been killed, they were parted by messages from the emperor and by the mediation of other nobles. But the emperor, incensed at such insolence, reduced the dignities and privileges of all concerned, among whom was Khān Daurān. For a moment it seemed that the patron of the English might be overtaken by the same fate as Mīr Jumlah. But in a few days the imperial anger cooled and he was restored to his former position[1]. About the beginning of May, he again took into consideration the English petition, and promised to carry the business through, provided he could get the *wazīr* to act with him[2]. He knew, of course, that, without the intervention of the *wazīr*, there could be no grant of *farmāns*, but the English ambassadors were still persuaded that it was all a question of personal influence and bribery. When, therefore, the articles of their second petition were again referred to the treasury, or *dīwānī*, they determined to deal liberally with all the officers concerned. To I'tisām Khān, the *dīwān-i-khāliṣah*, they offered seven thousand rupees, to the head clerk, Bhog Chand, ten thousand rupees, and to the subordinates twelve hundred[3]. Surman and Stephenson were of opinion that no means should be left untried to secure the writers in the treasury, but Khwājah Sarhād while he considered it beneath him to go to the office himself, refused to allow any Hindu *wakīl* to be employed in the business. His obstinacy called forth a protest from Surman and Stephenson at the beginning of June, but with little result[4]. For weeks the ambassadors were fed upon the most extravagant hopes by Sarhād and the Indian officials. The most favourable remarks were recorded against the articles in the petition, inconvenient documents were to be withheld and everything

[1] *Diary*, 102-4.
[2] *Ib.*, 108
[3] *Ib.*, 109-10, 116
[4] *Ib.*, 111-4.

asked for was to be granted[1]. It was not till July 15 that Surman and Stephenson discovered that the Armenian had deceived them throughout in the affair, and that the treasury was no more favourably disposed towards them than before. Their requests for *farmāns* had been flatly refused. The *dīwān-i-khāliṣah* recommended that the grants to be made in compliance with the two petitions should take the form of orders from the *wazīr*, which carry no weight in the distant provinces of the empire[2].

[1] *Diary*, 114, 116, 118-20
[2] *Ib.*, 121-8

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST PETITION

It is at this point, I take it, that the English threw away the last shreds of their long-perishing belief in Khwājah Sarhād and his Armenian friends. Padre Daniel they must have found out as soon as they arrived at Delhi. It must have been pretty clear, from the first, that he was a liar and a rogue, who spent all the money he could get on drunkenness and debauchery. As time went by at Delhi, Khwājah Sarhād's character appeared in hardly any better light. Without scruples as to truth or honesty, he evidently paid but little regard to the business of the English Company, and was intent upon his own interests, which required a prolonged stay in Delhi[1]. The delay in the negotiations disconcerted him not a whit, one would suppose that he was secretly glad that it should be so. Nor was he the least abashed when detected in his ignorance, or in the lies by which he tried to conceal it. He avowed that he had deliberately deceived the embassy as to the ill success of their negotiations in order that they might not be melancholy[2]. Surman and Stephenson appear to have been at their wits' end. At one time, they allowed it to be blown abroad that they were going away, as they could not obtain what they came for[3]. At another time, they had thoughts of going to the *wazir*, whom they had taken very particular care to satisfy, as they supposed, of their respect towards him, though they still thought that he had no real power[4]. But in the end, like true Englishmen, they refused to admit their defeat, and determined to continue in pressing for their *farmāns* through the mediation of Khān Daurān.

Good fortune favoured their persistency. About the time that the *dīwān-i-khāliṣah* gave the embassy its latest rebuff, disquieting news reached Delhi from Surat. The governor of the great western port, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān wrote to the king

[1] *Diary*, 147-59

[2] *Ib.*, 123

[3] *Ib.*, 124

[4] *Ib.*, 126. The ignorance of the English ambassadors as to the real position of affairs at the court is remarkable, but perhaps we should not be surprised at it, as they were the movest outsiders

and Khān Daurān that the English were seriously discontented, and that if they were not speedily satisfied they would withdraw, and Surat would be ruined. The letters were sent by Haidar Qulī to his agent at court, Rāe Kirpā Rām, who determined to turn these warnings to his own advantage The Mughal government had always been solicitous as to the state of trade and navigation on the west side of India. Fears upon this score had before now, made the great Aurangzēb lay aside his purposes against the English, and yield to their demands; and there could be little doubt that similar considerations could influence the court of Farrukhsiyar. Rāe Kirpā Rām saw that the English stood a very good chance of gaining all their points. He, therefore, lost no time in throwing out hints that, if he were properly rewarded, he would be able to materially assist the embassy, and Surman, though aware of the real cause of these overtures, thought it well not to discourage a new ally. Kirpā Rām's professed help, though it does not seem to have effect much, at least served to show which way the wind was blowing[1]. The letters from Surat were delivered to the emperor, and to Khān Daurān, with the most surprising and gratifying results. After some delay, on August 25, Sarhād had a private interview with Khān Daurān, the first he had ever been granted[2]. The articles in the petition were read over, and the objections raised by the *dīwānī* set aside. Then, after further delay, the second petition originally drawn up in January, was submitted to the emperor, and on October 7, was returned with most favourable orders[3]. In only two points were the English demands left unsatisfied. The government still hesitated to grant them the house in Surat and the thirty-eight villages in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. For these Khān Daurān recommended a separate petition, which he promised should be favourably considered The ambassadors accordingly presented a third petition of two articles, but, at the same time, determined to proceed with the articles already granted, without waiting for the results of the dilatory diplomacy of Khān Daurān[4].

[1] *Diary*, 125, 129, 132.
[2] *Ib*, 131.
[3] *Ib*, 136-7
[4] *Ib*, 138-40

They had at length learnt some wisdom. They knew that at the Mughal Court 'every thing runs in its proper and set channel,'[1] and at the beginning of November they brought Sarhād to confess that their petitions must first go to the *wazīr* and receive his perusal and approbation[2].

On November 10, the lists of articles were all submitted by the *dīwānī* to the *wazīr*, who, after perusing them, ordered the *dīwān-i-khāliṣah* to carry them immediately to the emperor, to get them signed, which was accordingly done[3]. When once they had gone to the *wazīr* and put their business upon a proper footing, it proceeded with a rapidity which astonished the English ambassadors. So difficult is it to persuade men that it is really easier to go right than wrong. 'We might have expected the *wazīr*,' they observed, 'in whose power it was would have stopped our business on this occasion or caused many delays, the sure way to squeeze a sum of money, which must have been very large. But he has behaved himself with far more generosity, our papers no sooner reaching his hands, than they received despatch'[4]. Yet in spite of this experience we shall find Surman and Stephenson perversely adhering to the view that the high Mughal officials were accessible only by bribes, and, still more perversely, expecting that Khān Daurān, in whose power it was, with the greatest reluctance.

On November 20, orders were issued from the treasury to the secretary's office for the preparation of three imperial *farmāns* incorporating the most important articles in the petition,[5] and on December 27, drafts of these *farmāns* were submitted to the emperor for his approval which he granted three days later[6]. The whole month of January 1717 was taken up with making fair copies, and with procuring the imperial signature. A number of orders were also made out enjoining the execution of particular provisions in the *farmāns*[7].

On February 1, the *farmāns* being perfectly finished were

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[1] *Diary*, 153.
[2] *Ib*, 140.
[3] *Ib*, 140-1
[4] *Ib*, 142-3
[5] *Ib*, 142-7
[6] *Ib*, 161-2
[7] *Ib*, 170-2

sent to Afzal Khān the *sadru-ṣ-sudur*, or imperial almoner, whose business it was to affix the great seal[1]. The seal it appears was actually kept by a begam or princess and, when required, was sent by her to the imperial almoner by the hand of a eunuch. These officials all expected presents, and the formality of affixing the great seal cost the embassy twelve thousand rupees paid to the imperial almoner and his subordinates, besides other gifts to the *bēgam* and her *entourage*[2]. On March 27, the *wazīr's* seal was added on the reverse of the *farmāns*,[3] and on April 10, they were placed in Surman's hands by Khwājah Sarhād[4].

[1] *Diary*, 173

[2] *Ib* 175-6

[3] *Ib* 181-3 The *wazir* had 'his seal 'affixed without asking a farthing'. The ambassadors explain this by referring to the good fortune of the Company! To the last they refused to admit the foolishness of neglecting the *wazīr* for Khān Daurān

[4] *Ib*, 184.

Chapter X

THE RETURN FROM DELHI

The ambassadors had applied for their dismissal on February 20, as soon as they knew that the great seal would be placed on their three *farmāns*, but the end of their labours was not yet. No less than three months were spent in wearisome and meaningless formalities without which they could not go. In conformity with the *farmāns*, orders signed by the *wazīr* had to be issued to various local officers and these were delayed by the clerks in the treasury office. A fourth *farmān* in answer to the letter from Governor Hedges had to be drawn up, signed and sealed. Lastly the Emperior, the *wazīr* and Khān Daurān had each in turn formally to dismiss the members of the embassy with suitable presents, which gave rise to many nice questions of distributive justice[1]. Ṣalābat Khān was anxious, or professed to be anxious, that the English should be dispatched with at least the same honours as had been shown to the Dutch and Portuguese in the previous reign. The Emperor and Khān Daurān argued that the example of the usurping Jahāndār counted for nothing, and that it would be a dangerous precedent to make too much of European ambassadors On April 18, when the list of honours was announced it was found that while the Bengal president was to receive an elephant more than the general of Batavia, Mr. Surman and his companions were to get less than the Dutch[2]. In their eagerness to go the ambassadors, though surprised at this treatment, after making a quadruple present, would have raised no objections; but Salābat Khān, professing to consider that his honour was in question, angrily insisted that Surman should have an extra horse and a dagger, and in deference to his wishes the concession was made. At the same time the Emperor stipulated that these presents should not all be made to Surman on the same day At one reception he was to have the horse and dagger, and at the next his plume and robe of honour. The other members of the embassy were to

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[1] *Diary*, 178, 182, 186-92, 208-09, 212.
[2] *Ib*, 191.

receive dresses of honour only[1]. For these distinctions they had in the end to give handsome gifts to the superintendent of elephants, the keeper of the robes, and the jewel and perfume offices[2].

At length on Thursday May 23, Surman received his first instalment of parting honours, the promised dagger and horse[3]. On the following Thursday the whole embassy repaired for the last time to the court of public audience, where the railed enclosures were as usual thronged by Indian nobles covered with gold and jewels, glittering in the bright sunshine which the purple awnings only partially kept out. Once again the curtains were drawn aside from the royal alcove above them and they saw the Emperor Farrukhsīyar on his peacock throne. John Surman was duly invested with his robe and plume, and dresses of honour were put upon Stephenson and the others. Then one by one they made their obeisance to the throne and passed from the Court, the last being Hamilton to whom Farrukhsīyar was so much indebted. The doctor, though he had been consulted by the *wazīr*, had not seen his imperial patient in private for more than a year, and seemed to have passed out of remembrance. He was moving on like the rest when an order from the throne suddenly stopped him and directed him to resume his place. The robe bestowed on him merely betokened the royal favour, but did not permit him to leave. The King rose. The curtains were drawn The audience was over[4].

Only those who have spent long years on the burning plains of India can fully realise with what intensity the exile comes to long for the fresh breezes of his native land. Far over the seas at Bothwell, in bonnie Scotland, brothers and sisters, an honoured father, and a promised bride were waiting anxiously for the doctor's return, and what could the Mughal offer him to tempt him to stay away longer ? Three times or more did old Ṣalābat Khān entreat him after leaving the court of audience to remain in Delhi, but Hamilton continued obstinate. 'No;' he said 'if the king will have me he may keep me in irons. But

[1] *Diary*, 192-195
[2] *Ib*, 196-97, 204-07
[3] *Ib*, 196
[4] *Ib.*, 197.

I will not accept his bread, much less his service.' There was nothing for it but to importune the emperor to let him go, and with their usual wrongheadedness the embassy turned to Khān Daurān for help. That Mr. Lofty at first refused to speak on the subject or to have any thing to do with it. But at the persuasion of Ṣalābat Khān he directed the ambassadors to apply to the *wazīr*, as they should have done in the first instance, and promised to help in interceding for Dr. Hamilton[1].

On June 4, the whole case was laid before the *wazīr*, who offered to use his utmost efforts to get the doctor's release. He accordingly forwarded to the emperor a copy of Hamilton's petition, enforcing it with a pathetic address of his own writing. The imperial answer soon came back. 'Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very willingly have kept him and would have given him whatever he asked. But seeing he is satisfied with no terms, I agree to it, provided that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children, he returns once more to visit this court. Let him go !'[2]

The English now turned their attention to the necessary preparations for the journey back to Calcutta. Carts were hired for their tents and camels bought for their baggage. An escort of fifty horse and four hundred foot was considered necessary to protect the caravan from the perils of the way[3]. On June 16, they were granted passes[4]. Soon after the *farmān* to Governor Hedges was completed. The remaining orders relating to Calcutta and the adjacent villages were signed and Dr. Hamilton gave a formal obligation to return under his seal[5]. On June 30, they received their dismissal from the *wazīr* and on July 11, from Khān Daurān[6]. On July 18, Mr. Surman after taking leave of Ṣalābat Khān and recommending Mitr Sen, the English attorney and representative at Delhi, to his favour, quitted the city and arrived at Barapula where the tents were pitched[7]. There was, however, one member of the

[1] *Diary*, 198-200.
[2] *Ib*., 200, 202-3.
[3] *Ib*., 199.
[4] *Ib*., 206
[5] *Ib*., 206-08.
[6] *Ib*., 208-09
[7] *Ib*., 210-12.

embassy who was by no means so eager to bid adieu to the Mughal and all his court. Khwājah Sarhād, who had for many months been on bad terms with his colleagues, now declared that he could not go with them unless certain accounts amounting to nineteen thousand rupees were paid him in full. From the very beginning of the negotiations they had suspected him, and we have seen that as time went on their suspicions had been strengthened and confirmed. Very soon after their arrival at Delhi they had discovered that his influence with the Mughal court and his knowledge of its customs had been greatly over-estimated. The marks of consideration and favour which he had procured for the embassy had been obtained by wholesale lying and by grossly exaggerating the value of the presents. The great nobles at Delhi neither knew nor cared for him. His Armenian friends were worthless rogues whose only object was to plunder the English as they had already plundered the Dutch. Daniel was a notorious evil-liver and a scandal to his nation and religion. Sarhād himself, though he professed to be ashamed of the folly and debauchery of the priest, made no pretentions to virtue 'If we succeed,' he used to tell the ambassadors, 'there will be no enquiry into our conduct. If we fail, I shall go off to Persia, and you may go where you please.' In practice he proved utterly incompetent, always promising but never performing. He refused to employ any of the Hindu agents whom the ambassadors brought with them. He persistently misled them as to the proper course of the negotiation. Hardly any part of the success which had been achieved could be said to be due to him. Now that the business was settled, instead of assisting the embassy, he was actually impeding its departure on the frivolous pretext of a difference about a few thousand rupees[1], his real purpose being, as the ambassadors believed, to get himself made an imperial merchant and to be sent to Europe to make various purchases for the Mughal. The ambassadors, therefore, having failed to satisfy him with an offer of fifteen thousand rupees drew up a protest in which they condemned him as disobedient and unfaithful, and deprived him of his dignities and allowances as an English representative[2].

[1] *Diary*, 212, 214

[2] *Ib.*, 219.

On July 25, the English moved from Barapula to Faridābād whence they dispatched their protest against Sarhād before starting on their journey. Final instructions were also sent to their attorney and representative at Delhi, Mitr Sen[1]. Reaching Mathura on July 30, they found the neighbouring district full of rebellious Jāts, and accordingly crossed the Jumna and proceeded down the left bank of the river to Agra, which they reached on August 3[2]. Hitherto the travellers had been much distressed by excessive heat, but at this point the weather changed. Torrents of tropical rain fell, leaving the roads deep in mud through which the camels and oxen slowly made their way, slipping and stumbling at almost every step[3]. The road, too, was beset with Mewattis. The first day after leaving Agra, a band of these cutthroats on horseback fell upon the tents, which had been sent on in advance under an escort of twenty or thirty guards. After a fight which lasted some four hours their chief received a fatal wound in his chest, and they galloped off, and the English saw them no more[4]. On August 26, they arrived at Allahabad where the Hindu governor received them with much ceremony and twice entertained them with a dinner of dishes cooked in the Muhammadan style[5]. On August 27, having made the governor a suitable present, they crossed the Ganges and proceeded on their way. The river was again crossed at Benares on September 5[6]. On September 21, after much suffering from very bad weather and muddy ways, they reached Patna[7].

[1] *Diary*, 218-21
[2] *Ib.*, 223.
[3] *Ib.*, 228.
[4] *Ib.*, 226.
[5] *Ib*, 229.
[6] *Ib*, 231.
[7] *Ib*, 234

CHAPTER XI

THE END OF THE EMBASSY

At Patna the embassy of necessity made a prolonged halt. They had to wait for the boats which they expected from Calcutta for their conveyance; they had also to see if arrangements could be made to resettle the English factory and to recover the outstanding debts of the Company. The English ambassadors had represented to the emperor that in Patna, where the English had long had a factory, instead of occupying hired building with precarious tenure they should be given a permanent habitation, and had asked for the house of the late Muḥammad Muzaffar, which was imperial property[1]. To this the emperor had agreed, provided they raised no additional walls nor anything like fortifications[2]; and an order had accordingly been issued to the governor of Patna[3]. But Surbaland Khān, the governor, was not on good terms with the English ambassadors. The story runs that Mr. Surman, after all the honours he had received at Delhi, expected the compliment of a first visit from Surbaland Khān, a concession which the governor, as the representative of the emperor in Bihar, could not possibly make. The *Diary* shows that he certainly expected the English to visit him and ask for the house When the English *vakīl* applied for it to the *Buyutāt*, Surbaland Khān is reported to have answered, 'Should I now give them the house, what have I left to say to them when they make me a visit'[4]. But the English, it seems, declined to make the visit, the reason given in the *Diary* being that a visit implied a *peshkash* of sixteen thousand rupees. 'On these conditions a factory might be resettled here, but without any prospect of recovering the former debts, the persons being all either dead or insolvent.' On due consideration the ambassadors found that their longer stay would be a fruitless expense of time and money, wherefore, on September 30, they agreed to wait no longer for the convoy from Calcutta but

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[1] *Diary*, 60
[2] *Ib*, 84, 91.
[3] *Ib*, 171, 176.
[4] *Ib.*, 234-35.

to hire boats and leave the place with the utmost expedition[1].

On October 7, a letter arrived from the president and council telling them that a party of soldiers was on its way to escort them and directing them to await their arrival, and in the meantime to get possession of the house and recover the Company's debts. But the embassy were impatient and perverse. They again recorded that no cumpulsion could be used to recover the debts without the *nawābs* assistance, but the *nawāb*, so far from assisting them, would not comply with the king's order permitting them to have the house. They could not have the house, said the *nawāb*, unless they at once settled a factory in it and unless they gave a *peshkash* of sixteen thousand rupees. So the English ambassadors decided that they could not wait for the Calcutta boats which would probably take two months to arrive, very likely meeting with some trouble in the way, 'which is not to be feared in our passage down seeing we have the king's *gurzbardār*, *chēlah*, and *dastaks* to accompany us, besides the character his majesty has been pleased to give us in the list[2].

On October 21, they left Patna and proceeded down the river. The *gurzbardār* with the elephant and horses made the same journey by land, keeping pace with the boats as far as Rājmahal[3]. On November 1, the embassy reached Gangaprasād, where they met Ensign Gammon with the boats and soldiers sent up from Calcutta. On the afternoon of November 3, they reached Rājmahal. The *gurzbardār* with the elephant and horses was sent on to make the best of his way towards Hughli, ten days being allowed for the journey, and accordingly rejoined the embassy, on November 13, at Ambua[4].

The journey from Patna had been saddened, perhaps hastened, by the illness of the doctor, William Hamilton, who must have succumbed to the hardships of the road from Delhi. Soon after leaving Patna, on October 27, at Sūrajgarhā, near Monger, Hamilton made his will, 'on the boats going for Bengal'[5]. The boats sped well and brought him to Calcutta, not indeed

[1] *Diary*, 235, 244-45.
[2] *Ib*, 237-38.
[3] *Ib.*, 243.
[4] *Ib.*, 248-49.
[5] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 293-95.

in time to sail by any ship to his native Scotland and recover life and hope, but at least in time to die amidst his friends, on December 4, and be buried beside Job Charnock in the grave-yard south of the fort[1].

On November 16, it was decided that the present and four members of the council should proceed up the river to receive the *farmān* and imperial gifts[2]. For this purpose it was not absolutely necessary that they should go more than five or six miles from the fort, but in view of the importance of the occasion they consented to go beyond even Hughli to Triveni. Before their tents, according to the prescribed custom, a space of some three hundred yards was enclosed with old screens. Within this enclosure, on November 20, the reception of the *farmān* took place in the presence of a large and respectable body of witnesses. Besides the *farmān* there were gifts, a vest, a dagger, a neck ornament and an elephant, with attar of roses, shawls and satins. They were given with the *farman* by the *gurzbardār*, and before receiving each gift the president made the customary obeisance[3]. In return, costly presents were made to the Mughal officials[4], and with these ceremonies the embassy concluded.

At the close of the *Diary* the ambassadors observe that 'since the trade of Europeans in these parts there have been sundry attempts of this kind, but the grants obtained have been of very little value though at much superior expence'[5], and it might be maintained that the grants obtained in the case were of very little value too. It is true that in Bengal the English were for a long while unable to make good the privileges conceded to them by Farrukhsīyar. This may be explained partly by the astuteness of the native rulers, partly by the complications which arose out of the struggles first with the Ostenders and afterwards with the Mārāṭhas, partly too by the natural un-

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[1] *Calcutta Review*, April, 1903, 296-312. "In 1786 when digging to foundations of the steeple of St. John's Church the masons brought to light the tombstone of the great doctor Warren Hastings, who was familiar with the story of the embassy, wished the memorial to be placed in the centre nich of the entrance to the church and the letters gilt, but it is now in the Charnock Mausoleum"

[2] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 286

[3] *Diary*, 250-51.

[4] *English in Bengal*, II, I, 289-90.

[5] *Diary*, 254

willingness of the Company's servants to quarrel with the local government to the detriment of their own private business. Nevertheless the embassy was a real step in advance. It legalised the whole of the English position in India. In Bengal it placed the local government technically in the wrong so long as the *farmān* and orders of the emperor were disregarded, and it consequently furnished the English with a standing quarrel which they might take up at any time. This they at last did after the catastrophe of the Black Hole, and the withholding of the rights won by Surman was the ground put forward by Clive, when he broke with Sirāj-ud-daulah and entered upon the conquest of the country. The soldier completed and more than completed what the ambassador began.

DIARY[1]
OF
MESSRS. SURMAN AND STEPHENSON

DURING THEIR EMBASSY TO THE GREAT MOGUL.

15 Aug. 1714 to 14 Dec. 1717:
with an

APPENDIX OF CONNECTED PAPERS.

1. CONSULTATIONS

AT A CONSULTATION

Present[2]

Mr. Jno. Surman & Mr. Edwd. Stephenson.

PATNA
August 15th 1714

"Having received a letter from the Hon'ble President & Council, dated the 22nd. July, inclosing Copy of instructions, which impowers us to negotiate the business of the Hon'ble United East India Company att the Court of the Emperour of Indostan; having particularly examined these instructions, and finding that the Hon'ble Presidt. & Council, have very straitly limited the attendance that shall proceed with us; we conclude they have an opinion that the Nabob of this province will grant us force sufficient for our safe conduct thro' itt. By the small care he took of the Present in itt's way up from Bengall; We have good reason to beleive his future assistance will be much of the same nature; and that no Risque may be run, and the Hon'ble Presdt. & Councill nott depend on such hopes; Conclude that we write a letter to them, giving a full account of the Above-mentioned:

[1] This diary has been carefully summarised by Orme (See Orme Collections, Vol. VII. pp. 1693-1711) He notes the names of the agents in the embassy and continues· "They were all at Patna, January 1st. 1714-15 But delays from the Nabob of Patna and his officers, and the tricks of Seerhaud, the roguery and obstinacy of the carriers and other impediments prevented them from beginning their march before the 7th April, when the whole was at Bicherum seryas [Bikram Sarāe]". See also rough notes by Orme in the Orme collections O. V., Vol 12, pp. 25-52 and 73-89. Orme personally consulted Edward Stephenson about the embassy in January 1765.

[2] Mr. John Surman, Mr Edwd. Stephenson, Mr. Hugh Barker, with Dr. Hamilton, and Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] were at Patna waiting for an escort from the King before proceeding to Delhi. The Diary commences on the 15th of August 1714.

for although they have not possitively limited us, to any certain rules; butt that on necessity we have power to alter them; Yett since the difference will be so great, and having time sufficient; think itt our duty, first to receive farther instructions.

The Hon'ble President & Councill having permitted us to remove to another house if we Judge convenient Ordered that a proper house be Enquired after and the Councill advised of itt."

"Pursuant to the Hon'ble President & Councils permission; In case We should Judge convenient to hire a house; We have this day contracted for one att 50 rs per mensem. The reasons for our living apart are as follows."

September 1st.

"Seeing we are to appear in this publick station; Our stay in this factory must be attended with severall inconveniences, as particularly the Awe We are in (as Merchants) from the Government hindering us in our preparations which otherwise we Can't be liable to."

1stly

"There is nott roome in this factory for the bulk of the Present, for which reason houses have been already hired to receive itt. Whereas the present House we have taken is able to contain the whole, and sufficient to make all preparations for our proceedure, which would be impossible for us to doe here."

2ndly

"Itt is absolutely necessary that we appear in a more publick manner than it's possible to doe att present; that we may have the greater respect from the Government; and that our affairs here may be more successfully negotiated, Seeing the post we are now in att this Factory can never be adequate to the Character we receive by this imployment, butt may be a means of being lightly esteemed."

Lastly

"Having received news that two Goorzeburdars [*gurz-bardāṛ*] from the King, with Seerpaws [*sar-o-pā*] and a Cunger [*khanjar*] are on their way hither; Ordered that preparations be made for our departure hence, that peons and servants, be suitably entertained, and that our Equipage be decent, and handsome, according to the Honourable President and Councills instructions; there being att present no farther occasion.

The Honourable President and Council in theirs of 27th Ulto., having enclosed Husbull Hoocums [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukums*]., one of which was for Gyrutt Cawn [Ghairat Khān],[1] Nabob of this province, with his forces to conduct us through itt; Agreed The said Husbull Hoocum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukum*] be nott delivered till we appear in a publick station.

Agreed that three soldiers be detained, more than what allowed: Vizt. 1 for a Gunner, I Tailor, and 1 in Case of Mortality; and that the President and Council be advised of our reasons on this head."

"The other house being cleaned out, and fitt to receive Goods; Agreed We first send the liquors, till such time more Peons are entertained; and that those now in service, goe to guard itt.

September 15th.

This day, Anoop Chund [Anūp Chand] Presented himself, to serve as Vakile [*vakīl*], assistant to Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] in this negotation: Upon Enquiry, finding him to be a Person of some substance, and Clear reputation; being particularly commended for his Eloquence, and learning, sufficient for this undertaking; We doe think him a proper person. He is att present troubled with the Barbeirs,[2] therefore as yett unfitt for any publick address: However, we shall dispence with that for some time, in hopes of his recovery; considering him the fittest person in this place, and nott knowing any to compare with him for such an Employ. Agreed that we advice the Honourable President and Councill of itt, and the reasons we had to choose him."

"Agreed that the Vakile [*vakīl*] visitt the Nabob, and that he take One Gold Moor [*muhr*] and five rupees for a present and ten rupees to be disbursed among the Servants; that he tender our service, and

October 1st.

[1] Sayyad Ghairat Khān, Bārha, son of Sayyad Nasrullah, Sādāt Khān, by sister of the two Sayyads He was killed on the 8th Oct. 1720, while attempting to avenge his uncle, Husain 'Ali Khan's assassination.

[2] According to *Hobson Jobson* "barbiers" was formerly current in the East "as the name of a kind a paralysis, often occasioned by exposure to chills." Sir Joseph Fayrer regards it as "the dry form of *beri-beri*" Mr W. Irvine, to whom I am indebted for many valuable notes on the names of persons and things in the following pages, thinks that a paralysed man would hardly have been selected for an appointment involving a long journey and much work, and suggests that "barbiers" here stands for *bawāsir*, or *babes*, meaning piles.

deliver the Husbull-Hoocum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukum*] from Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur] withall endeavouring to gain a possitive answer from the Nabob, whether he will grant us forces, sufficient for a safe conduct, through his province, pursuant to the severall orders from the King, already delivered him, under the seales of Cuttbullmooluck, Omeerallomrah, Meer Jemla, and Cutturub Caun [Qutub-l-Mulk, Amīru-l-Umarā, Mīr Jumla and Taqarrub Khān]."

"Pursuant to our former Consultation, Our Vakile visitted the Nabob where he has handsomely received; and the second-visitt delivered the Husbull-Hoocum, [*ḥusbu-l-ḥukum*] being assured that soon as [we] were in a posture to leave this place, We might depend on his protection, and that he would see us safe conducted thro' his jurisdiction."

October 7th.

"In the interim of these 3 days disputes, there has been a rumor spread of Gyrutt Cauns [Ghairat Khān's] being displaced, and that Ali-Esgar-Caun ['Alī Aṣghar Khān][1] is constituted his successour. Upon large Enquiry into the truth of itt, We have very Good reason to believe it: Seeing Gyrrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān] himself talks of departing hence in less than 20 days. To proceed with him would be absolutely the safest conveyance we could meett with, butt seeing his stay is so short, and we so bare of necessaries, for so long a Journey, this project is Utterley impracticable. Wherefore we ought to prepare against the worst, and look out for another opportunity· for which reasons Agreed, that [we] write a complymentary letter to Monsieur Martin[2] att Dilly [Delhi] to be dispatched this day, by a nimble Cossid [*qāṣid*], acquainting him with this turn of affairs here, which he can't be ignorant off, that we were conscious that our generall Dusticks [*dastaks*] were nott sufficient commission to the new Subah [*Sūbādār*] on his arrivall; in order to a safe conveyance through this province, advising him withall that the way between this place

[1] Afterwards Khān Zamān, died 29th Jan 1743 He was the son of Kār Talab Khān, Anṣārī, Mewātī, a favourite of Bahadur Shah.

[2] Monsieur Martin, a French Physician, died at Delhi in Zu-l-qa' dah, 1140, i e June, July, 1728. He was prominent in Bahadur Shah's reign at the time of the Dutch embassy, working actively against them. He was called in to attend Muḥammad Shāh several times early in that reign.

and Bannarass [Benares] was of no little Risque unless secured by a good guard. Agreed that this letter be translated into Latin by Hugh Barker, and that another letter be wrote to the same purport, in Persians; that Padree Daniell be also wrote to this effect, and that we acquaint. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] of this turn of affairs, desiring he would advise what other friends he has made att Court to carry on this negotiation and that he himself write to them."

October 10th. "The Cossid [*qāṣid*] that brought the Honourable President and Councills last Packett, informing us that Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] was arrived att Boglepore [Bhāgalpur]; We have taken into consideration, the great risque of passing the Chuckwars, who (as we are credibly informed) are returned to their old station att Samboe [Sambāl], and consequently as capable as ever to act villainously, should they take a fancy to seize the person of Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād]., knowing he belongs to the English, whose boates have this two years passed by force. We are nott well satisfied with the Goorzeburdars [*gurz-bardārs*] protection: For all which reasons, and to discharge the duty incumbant on us, Agreed that we immediately write him a letter, advising that he ought nott to risque his persons farther than what was absolute necessity, and that our Opinion is to leave the boates with the Goorzeburdars, and himself come overland."

2. DIARY.

October 17th. "Arrived Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad]."

3. CONSULTATIONS.

October 22nd. "In the Wacka [*vaqāyā*] sent us by the Nabob, there is news that, att the desire of Padree Daniel, Aurruff Chilah, ['Arif *chelā*] with a Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] was ordered to Patna, for the more safe conveyance of the English and Kings present to Court; Seeing the Said Padree had complained, by Caundora's [Khān

Daurān's] means, that only the want of Carriage and assistance did now detain them. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], since his arrivall, has informed us, that he has advices from Padree Daniel of 50 days date, that he has obtained from the King an order for a Chilah [*chelā*] and Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] to come to us, with seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] and a Cungee [*khanjar*]. Also that the King outt of his great favour had sent orders on every Subah [*Sūbadār*] and Duan [*Diwān*] to defray our Carriages and expenses; and by another letter from Cojah [*khwājah*] Petrus to his Gomasto [*gumāshstah*] here, confirming that news that Papers were sealed, and the Chilah etc. would be dispatched in a day or two. These advices have been renewed for this five or six days all which time we have waited for their arrivall with impatience, reflecting that every day now lost is more than ten att another time; for which reason, and nott to be tardy in our preparations, which will att least take up six weeks, the Cold weather coming on with our daily expenses; and lastly if the King has issued outt such orders, We reasonably beleiving they will be to receive Specie and nott to have carriages delivered us, by which our Honourable masters may be no loosers, by any before-hand Preparations; Agreed, that we commence to hire Carriages, and that the Carriers who have for severall days presented themselves, be now sent for, and an agreement made with them for 100 Carriages."

"Doondy Chowdry [Dundī Chaudhrī,] Chief of the Carriers, with 20 others, has this day been with us, and have agreed to prepare 100 Carriages on the following terms: att 11 Currt. Rupees per 1 Md. 5 Sr., Each carriage to carry 25 Mds, with 4 oxen; all to be in readiness in 6 weeks; In case of which, and the fault being ours, in nott proceeding; then we are to pay them demurrage according to Custom. They are by agreement to receive 7500 rupees before hand, 10,000 rupees more in the interim, and on their departure; the remaining 10,000 rupees to be paid on their way between this place and Dilly as there shall be occasion. Ordered that they give obligations for the above mentioned, and that 1005 rups. be paid them, and the rest of the money payable before hand, in small parcells: so that

October 23rd.

the opportunity of getting ready may nott be lost, nor in case of the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] timely arrivall much money Expended."

4. DIARY.

"This day arrived Aurruff Chilah ['Arif *chelā*] with the Kings Orders and a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] from Caundora [Khān Daurān], which was received by John Surman without any Ceremony."

October 29th.

5. CONSULTATIONS.

"Yesterday Mahumud Arruff Chilah [Muḥammad 'Arif *chelā*] arrived with the Kings orders on the Nabob Gyrrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān], Duan Esgar Caun [Dīwān Asghar Khān] and Bootade Mullah Nooseer [Buyutātı Mullā Nasīr]. The two former nott being in the City; Order'd that Mahumud Aurruff Chilah ('Arif *chelā*), Adge Omud [Hāji Aḥmād], and Golam Hossein [Ghulām Ḥussain], Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] goe, and deliver his Majestys order to Mullah Nosseer [Mullā Nasīr], demanding a ready complyance, and intimating that seeing the King had issued outt such gracious orders, The fault of any longer stay would be entirely theirs, and for which they must be accountable.

October 30th.

Ordered that a list of what carriages we esteem necessary for the present be prepared and sent to the Bootade [*buyutāti*].

Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] informing us that the Flint Ware in the Present would be of no value, unless putt into a better shape, and seeing a possibility with a small expense to render itt very acceptable; Agreed that proper Workmen be sent for, and that they follow Cojah Seerhauds [Khwājah Sarhād] directions in this Affair.

There being several sorts of Fine Oiles, Otter [*iṭr*] and Drams which must of necessity be divided into a great many parcells, and should be putt into handsome bottles and Cases, in order to their better acceptance; withall this place being noted for curiositys of this nature, and consequently a small sum thus

Expended appearing large and agreeable att Court, Agreed That 1000 or 1500 Rupees (butt no farther), be laid out in making Diamond Cutt glasses, and bottles, Otterdaneys [*'iṭrdānis*] and Gilt Ware, after the English Fashion, and that the Care of this devolve on Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād].

There being still an occasion to make sundry necessaries in Silver; Agreed that the Bullion bought by Edward Pattle etc., and sent us be given outt, and made into the following particulars:—

1. Aftoa and Chillumchy [*āftābā* and *chilamachī*].
1. English Coffee Pott.
1. Do Country fashion.
1 Small Chafendish and Lamp for Spirits.
1. Large Soop-spoon.
2. Candlesticks.
2. Salt sellers.
1. Porringer
2. Bandizers, 1 large, 1 small.
12. Plates.
4. Small dishes.
1. Large Soop-dish.
2. Middling and 2 large dishes.
2. Mussall and Teeldanny [*mash'al* and *tel-dānī*]
1. Mussal with 2 branche.
1. Phanoose [*fānūs*].
1. Tea pott and Canister.
2. Chubdars Sticks [*chobdār* sticks]."

November 2nd, 1714.

"The following list being drawn out, and sealed by Mr. John Surmans seal, Ordered that the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] carry itt to the Bootade [*buyutāti*] who has demanded itt, vizt.

100 Carriages each to carry 25 Mds.
1200 Cohars [*kahārs*].
15 Camells.
10 Hackeries.
22 Oxen for the Guns.
30 Bildars [*beldārs*].
10 Carpenters.
4 Smiths.

The Bootade [*buyutāti*] refused to accept the Abovementioned Phirds [*fards*], unless sealed by Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], whose name was solely expressed in the Kings orders: To which the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] answered; That John Surman being Chief, itt was customary for all Papers to receive his impression, and that Kings orders did nott so much respect the Seal as the ensuing Present. This nott proving satisfactory to one insisting as a Servant on the letter of Said orders, Mr. John Surman, That our Honourable Masters might nott be impeded from receiving this benefitt, offered as some alleviation, That his own seal should be att the Top and Cojahs [Khwājah's] att the bottom of Said Phird [*fard*]: butt that this may be no future President, Agreed, That Padree Daniel, by the first Cossid [*qāsid*] to Court be forbid mentioning Seerhaud, or att least without giving the Preheminence to John Surman, in all orders that may come from thence. This was agreed to by the Bootade [*buyutāti*] wiht the following alterations only. Instead of 100 Carriages at 25 Mds. per Carriage, 160 at 16 mds. and that Seerhauds seal be altered to Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad]."

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] advising us, that he wore Union Flaggs[1] in Hugly has desired the same liberty here.

November 6th. Itt is the Opinion of Messrs John Surman and Edward Stephenson that where the Companys business may call him apart, there is an absolute necessity off his appearing in some State; Yett retaining a destinction to the Chief; There being no great necessity for itt att present, and nott to disgust Mr. Pattle, while in this place; withall the Case being Altogether new, no Second Ever carrying them; They have desired him nott to insist on itt, butt refer itt to the Honourable President Etc. whose orders shall be obeyed."

"The 7th Inst. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] visitted the Duan [*dīwān*] and Bootade [*buyutāti*], where he was very

November 10th. handsomely received. The Duan [*dīwān*] demanded an Account of the Kings present, which Seerhaud refused, pretending Every thing was sealed up,

[1] This union flag was not the present union jack, but an earlier flag in which the St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses were combined.

he nott being Empowered to open itt; butt desired the Duan [*dīwān*] to follow the letter of the Kings orders, Intimating that nothing hindred our Proceedure butt want off Carriage for the Present, which we expected would be in readiness by the first of next moone. The Duans [*dīwān's*] reason for this demand was the apprehension of Merchants Goods being carried Under protection of the Kings orders; for which he should in some measure be accountable, Whereas the delivery of such list would Endemnifie him. Seerhaud answered That the English nation (He hoped) had gott such an Established reputation, as nott to need supports of that nature, off which his Majestys present favour was a plain Instance, besides that we should be very fear-full of putting his Majesty to any unnecessary Charge; He farther added, that upon a strict Calculation, We found that 60 Carriages and 300 Cohars [*kahārs*] might be deducted from the former list: Wherefore we desired the first might be restored, and another received in its roome, which was done accordingly by the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*], as mentioned in our former consultation.

For the furtherance of a letter to our Nabob who is still abroad brought from Court by Aurruff Chilah ['Arif *chelā*]; Agreed that one Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*], and Said Chilah [*chelā*] attend him, and waite for what orders shall issue from thence.

Carriages being arrived to receive their loading, and there nott being servants sufficient to attend their Carrying out; Agreed that more Peons Etc. be entertained according to the pressing occasion.

Ordered that Goods be loaden on the Carriages, as they come in, with All Expedition."

6. DIARY.

"Received a letter wrote in English from Monsieur Martin, att Dilly A private Account off which is gone to the Honble. President and Councill att Fort William and signed by Messrs. Jno. Surman and Edward Stephenson."

November 19th.

"An account off the Carriage as they were loaded and carried out.

November 23rd.

Nov. 14	..	30
15	..	10
16	..	11
17	..	12
18	..	5
19	..	3
20	..	5
22	..	2
		78

7. CONSULTATIONS.

"The Nabob come into the City; to hasten the preparations for our departure we think itt absolutely necessary that he be visitted. Agreed that he be visitted and be desired to grant a greater force than he has already ordered.

November 24th.

Tents necessary for our selves and Attendants In Some measure being provided, Agreed that Mr. John Surman pay for them outt of the cash.

Vizt;—

1 Tent with redd lining	..	205
1 do Small, Chints do	..	55
1 do do do	..	61
1 do do redd lining	..	65
6 Cunnauts [*qanāts*] Chints	..	162
Necessary Tent	..	40
1 Tent 5 Gur. redd lining	..	130
1 do 4 do do	..	120
4 Cunnauts Currowa [*qanāts* of *khārwā*]		104
1 do Green		17-4
1 Small Tent	..	80
1 Canopy Chints Lining	..	35
		1,074-4

"Considering that severall off the Companys Debtors have been seized by Edward Pattle etc. which being complained off to the Government, they were demanded out off their hands, And nothing being procurable in the publick Courts of Justice; We have desired Mr. Pattle, & cas consent and advice to Seize and Debtors, Well knowing that our present station frees us from those apprehensions which attend a Factory off Merchants; that so by using a little severity, we might gett in att least part of the Debts; Agreed that Peons be Employed to seize them as Speedily as possible Especially Dunnysaw [Dhani Saha], and Acrum [Akram], who are the only persons judged responsible. As itt is believed the Government will take notice off itt, Agreed Seerhaud inform the Nabob, that despairing to obtain our Debts here, we are resolved to Carry them with us to Court"

November 28th.

8. DIARY.

November 28th. "Account off Carriages Continued.

Nov.	25	.. 4
	26	.. 3
	28	4
		11

9. CONSULTATIONS.

"Considering Every body Ought to make a handsome appearance, and Messrs. Hamilton and Barker nott having Pallankeens yett provided, Agreed that they be made, and slightly plated with Silver, and that Mr John Surman give money cutt off the Cash for that use"

November 30th

"Pursuant to a former Consultation, having Seized Caungee [Khānji] and Dunnysaws Son, [Dhani Saha] and Companys Debtors, with Sooty Deloll [Sūti, *Dālāl*], a Debtor off Mr. Lloyd deceased; and used them with some severity; these through-pac't Rogues, nott Easy to be brought reason, have rather than pay 500 Rupees off Debts, chose to spend so much in the Durbar [*darbār*]. Their friends gott together, and raised all the Salt Merchants, and Cashmeerys [Kaçmīrīs], to complaint to the Nabob, hindering his going to

December 8th

prayers; For which reason, he sent to desire that the prisoners Might be delivered to Sheak Esaw [Shaikh Īsā], who should see us paid; by which means, the ill name would be taken from both of us, Upon due consideration, itt is the Opinion off us all, that they be delivered for the following reason, That by any meanes we ought nott to disoblige the Nabob; for although itt's likely, since we are going to Court, he may nott care to Force us; Yett he may privately be more detrimentall to our Masters Affairs, Farr exceeding any advantages that may arise from Said Debtors. We have advised Messrs. Pattle and Pratt of this: The former only dissents, So ordered that Caungee, Dunnyswas son [Khānji, Dhani Saha's son], with Sooty Deloll [Sūtī, *dalāl*] be delivered, and that Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] carry them with him to Sheak Issa [Shaikh Īsā]."

"The Eugenes [Ujain's][1] molesting Merchants and travellers on the road to Banarrass, [Benares] which we must pass; We have considered whither we ought intirely to rely on the promiss off the Nabob for his protection, or do something for our selves; by presenting the Chief of them, Sedistenaran [Sidisht Nārāyan]. We have approved off the latter. Agreed that the following things be delivered by Mr. Edward Stephenson, that they be made up, and that the Kings Chilah, [*chelā*], one Horseman and ten peons be sent thither; and that a Complimenting letter be wrote, and delivered to the Chilah. The present to be viz.t.

December 12th.

	yds.	nlls			
Broad Cloth Scarlett	11	14	is	10	guzz.
Green Fine	11	14	"	10	"
Aurora	11	14	"	10	"
Imbost Ordinary	11	14	"	10	do
Yellow Ordinary	6			5	do

[1] Mr. Irvine says that the Ujainiyah clan had long been practically independent, only paying revenue under compulson. Rājah Rūdar, descended in the fifth generation from the first Ujainiyah rājah of Bhōjpur, rebelled against Aurangzēb, and was joined by the neighbouring zamīndārs In this account he was deposed and the chiefship was given to his brother, ancestor of the present houses of Dumrāon and Jagdispur. While Aurangzēb was absent in the Deccan, Dhīr, a distant cousin of the rājah decended in the sixth generation from the same ancestor, seized many zamindarīs, and maintained a force of about 14,000 horse and 80,000 foot, Dhīr died of fever in 1712, and was succeeded by Sidisht Nārāyan his second but eldest surviving son.

1 Fuzzee[1]
1 Pair Horse-pistolls
1 Pair pockett do
2 perspect: Glasses
2 Magnifying and Multiplying Glasses.
2 Triangle Glasses, 1 Burning Glass
3 Penknifes, 3 pair Sizars.
10 Sr Flint Ware.

"The business off Seizing the Debtors, having made some noise in the City, and represented by the Merchants as a hardship· We Fearing that they are gathering names to a protest; Agreed that Padree Daniel be advised thereof, by a Nimble Cossid [*qāṣid*], that the Endeavour to gett an order from the King concerning this business, and for Fear off Miscarriage, that Duplicates of said Letters be sent by another Cossid [*qaṣīd*] and that Seerhaud Endeavour to obtain that this affair be duly entered in the Swana [savāniḥ], getting recommendatory letters from Meer Jemla's [Mīr Jumla's] and Caundora's [Khan Daurān's] Brother, who are in the place.

To show the World, that our stay here proceeds only from the dilatoriness off the Government's preparations; Ordered that what Tents are ready, be sent outt with a Fitt Number off peons to guard them"

"The Soldiers wanting Cloths, itt being very Cold, and withall necessary that they made a handsome appearance, Agreed that Each off them have Coates given them, and that Mr. Stephenson deliver outt Cloth for that use

December 25th

In a former Consultation we agreed nott to take any more Carriages from the Kings Officers, than what were absolutely necessary for the Carriage off the present. This day Seerhaud has been with the Bootade, [*buyutāt*] and there Agreed to receive as many Carriages as were necessary for all the goods. His reasons for so doing are as follows· That finding there might be plague and trouble from the Nabob, Duan [*dīwān*] etc. On

[1] Fuzzee is perhaps meant for fusil, *i e* a Matchlock.

our leaving this place; as likewise in the way, where these private Carriages might be distinguished; Since they would give Dusticks [*dastaks*] for no more than what were paid for by the Kings officers. This was done without our knowledge and consent. In case hereafter there may be any trouble on this head att Court, Agreed that 9rs. a Maund be Charged on all private Goods, and that money either pay for the Carriages to the King, or be Employed in Bribery."

10. Consultation.

December 31st.

"The Honourable President & cas letter. dated December 15th was produced and read. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] having for these few days shown himself very much discontented, and privately said that unless he had the Entire management of the Durbar [*darbār*], he would nott proceed; He was now desired to Explain himself. Concerning the 20000 rupees he Affirmed to be promised him by the Honourable President and Councill, he received a finall answer, That they neither promised anything off that Nature nor would now give itt. Seerhaud Explains himself in this manner, That Seeing the Councill had nott thought fitt to Allow him the Sum above-mentioned, Yett he hoped att his return in consideration off his good services, he should receive itt in Calcutta, So that he disputes no farther att present on this head; Butt his immediate demands are, that none off us should offer to interfere in the business off the Durbar [*darbār*], which did Entirely depend on him alone. That no papers or letters should be sealed with John Surmans Impression, and In Fine that unless all this was allowed, he would nott Stirr a Step, or till such time as he received farther Instructions from the Honourable President and Councill; Upon which The Companys General Instructions were produced and Examined; butt all would nott avail. He having repeated his deniall to proceed with us, We demanded a delivery off all the Companys letters and papers to the King and Officers att Court, which he readyly comply'd with. Agreed that the Honourable President and Councill be fully advised off every Particular, and that we waite their farther orders.

On Christmas-day Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] being given to the Goorzebardars [*gurzbardārs*], Agreed that they be allowed.

Sitteringes [*shitranji*] for the Ordinary Spreadings off the Tents being bought; Agreed that Mr Jno. Surman pay for them.

The Government having absolutely refused to Furnish us with Camells, none being to be hired, and they being very necessary Agreed that 7 or 8 more be bought, iff procurable. Bought viz[t]:

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Sorrell Horse	..	460	12	6			
1 Bay do	..	228	0	0			
1 Sorrel Tangon[1]	..	120	0	0			
					808	12	6
2 Oxen	..				20	0	0
					828	12	6

Agreed that they be paid for by Mr Jno. Surman."

"After many disputes with the Dwan [*dīwān*] and Bootade [*buyutāti*], who have been quarrelling with one another concerning the agreement, and paying for the Carriages; withall objecting that we are in no readiness to proceed, having demanded the reason of Such delay, and also that we would sett a day from which The Carriages and Cohars [*kahārs*] should commence: That whatever Cheats that have putt upon us, and still Seem to be hatching, may nott lye att our doors, Agreed that an obligation be drawn in Persian, That we are in perfect readiness for our proceedure, That we desire The Wagoners and Cohars [*kahārs*] may commence their pay from 11th off January Ensuing, and that in Case we did nott proceed to our Tents and on our Journey. Whatever Demurrage might accrew from our farther Stay, we did Enjoin ourselves to pay. That this be Signed by Mr. John Surman and Cojah Seerhaud [K͟hwājah Sarhād], that itt be given to the Bootade, [*buyutāti*], and that Seerhaud acquaint the Buxie [*bakshi*] with itt, Agreed also that Mr. John Surman and Cojah [K͟hwājah] Seerhaud pay Said Buxie [*bakshī*] a visit in form, he being Meer Jemla's [Mīr Jumla's] Brother, and take

[1] Tangon is tangan, a hill pony.

their leave; by which meanes our departure will be entered in the Wacka [*vaquā'yā*], and so Clear us from any Aspersion that may be flung on us, by the Villany off the Duan [*dīwān*] and Bootade [*buyutātī*].

Considering our great Number of Carriages and Doolys [*ḍolīs*], likewise our Journey being Subject both to publick and private Robberies; and although itt's probable we may have some force from the Government for our protection; Yett being off opinion that our main dependance is on our Servants which after serious consideration, we find cannot be supply'd by less than 400 Peons, and Buxeries, [*Baksarīs*][1] and 50 Horsemen; Agreed that they be entertained by little and little, till the time off our Departure.

Bought Camells 2...451-5-6. Agreed that Mr. Jno. Surman pay for them.

Papers recd from Seerhaud:—

1 parcell	.. 10 pers; pap;
do	.. 4 Engs. concerning Towns.
do	.. 8 Letters to Court."

11. Secret Consultation on the 1st. January, 1715.

"Yesterday morning, after receipt off a letter from y^e^ Hon^ble^ Presid^t^. and Councill, off y^e^ 15th Ult^e^; wherein we had a particular answer to ours off Nov^r^. 22^nd^; att which time Seerhaud informed us, that he was to receive 20,000 Rs. in broad Cloth, on arrivall off y^e^ Kings orders, for defraying y^e^ Carriage, off y^e^ Present, out off his Treasury; and that he had advised the Honble President and Councill by a letter, that in case itt was nott performed, he would proceed no farther, in y^e^ Companys service; The Honble Presidt. Etc., actually denying any such promise, in y^e^ letter above-mentioned; Pursuant to their orders, we soothed him with fair words, butt withall demanded his answer, to that head. Seerhaud Slightly evaded this former demand; Saying, that he was assured y^e^ Good offices, he should

[1] Baksarīs, *i e*, men of Baksar, general armed with matchlocks.

doe att Court, would induce them on his return, to what they did nott att present agree to; But that what he immediately demanded was this; That neither Mr. Surman or any one Else should interferr in any business, off ye Durbar; That all letters, or papers should receive no other impression butt his own; and in generall requiring, that this Affair should remain entirely under his management. 'Tis true he offered to give an Account off Every thing to ye board, Yett in case off any dissent, he was resolved to doe itt on his own head, and for which he pretended to be accountable to none, but ye Honble. President Etc. in Calcutta. These offers nott being consonant to our Generall Instructions, with ye private orders we have received, occasioned many disputes; as likewise ye produce off said General Instructions which were read, and thoroughly Explained, yett availed nothing, he still persisting in his obstinacy; withall that unless a thorough concession was made him, he would nott stirr a step out off Patna. These strange notions obliged Mr. John Surman immediately to demand all the President Etc.as Letters to the King and other Officers att Court; which he delivered as per Diary Itt is our opinion, he has some other reasons more prevalent, than what he has offered in Councill, vizt. The hopes of carrying Merchants Goods under protection of ye Present, which he has frequently desired, butt could never obtain our consent to; being possitively contrary to our instructions, we well considering ye Risque of ye Present, and our selves by having them in our Company, with ye trouble that may arise att Court, for carrying them, and which he himself confirmed in a former Consultation: There being severall Armenians that he has brought up and designs to carry with him, besides other Merchants with whom he has contracted to carry their goods, and in which finding himself baulkt off our Consent; we believe has been ye occasion off his waving ye 20,000 Rs., and making a further pretence, for his longer stay, till such time as he should receive farther Authority from Calcutta. We agreed to advise ye Honble President and Council off this Affair; He also promising to show what letters he wrote on that occasion, which finding him to have failed in, by sending his Cossid [*qaṣid*] away privately. We Endeavoured by Spyes, and other Secrett methods to pry into his actions, which confirmed us in our abovementioned

opinion; That his design is purely to delay our proceedure, nott having intentions for our Masters interest.

Our private Emissaries have now brought us an Account, that he has secretly dispatched a Cossid [*qaṣid*] to Court, We know no reasons for itt, beleiving there was nott any great necessity; Yett we have this Jealousy, that there can be nothing for our Masters interest, seeing he did nott think fitt to advice us off itt. Itt is our business to consult ye Good off ye Affair we have in hand; The Tents and Carriages being out, a sufficient guard being with Each; This, with ye Housepeons, and other preparation to so great a Journey, occasions a very great Expence, ought to be mitigated, as much as possible, by our short Stay.—1st. Itt is our opinion, that the Honble President and Councill will never give him ye Authority he pretends to: 2dly. That itt is for ye Companys advantage ye Sooner we depart hence; by which nott only a farther Expense will be prevented, butt his designes, iff any bad, averted. 3dly. That he has very much hindred us already, but nott permitting ye Bootade [*buyutāti*][1], to pay ye Carriers and Cohars [*kahārs*]; and Lastly for a generall remedy, to apply our selves privately to ye Nabob, and other Officers, as occasion offers, Either by fair words, or bribes; Even to force us to a departure, from this place.'....

JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

12. CONSULTATIONS.

"The person formerly designed for Vakile [*vakīl*], Anoopchund [Anūp Chand], continuing still so infirm, that an entire relyance cannot be putt in him, for fear off disappointment; With this consideration, we have looked out for another to supply his place, His name is Molookchund [Malik Chand], by cast a Surrouck[2], He has been brought up to this business all his life in the Service off most off

January 1st. 1715.

[1] Providing carriage at Court was the business of the *Khānsāmān*, or Lord Steward, and the provincial *Buyutāti* being an official of that department, it naturally fell on him to provide the carts and bearers at Patna.

[2] A Sarāwak, a caste of mahājans, marwaris by race, and Jains by religion.

the Omrahs [*umarā*], who have been in these parts, being off a very good address, and one whose reputation we have nott in the least found to be tainted; Agreed that he be taken into the Service to act in the business off the Durbar [*darbār*] under Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhaud]: He has agreed for 100 Rupees per Mensem, butt Expects to be supply'd with Cohars [*kahārs*] for his Pallankeen 2 Servants and 1 Mussalehy [*mash' alchī*]. Considering Mollokchund [Malūk Chand] is nott sufficient, we have taken another to assist in the Durbar; His name is Ramchund Ponditt [Ram Chand *paṇḍit*], by caste a Brahmin; He is particularly recommended by Mr. Surman, in Every respect qualified for a head Vakile, butt the want of the Persian Language, and may be off very good service, nott only in the Durbar, butt on other Accounts; For which reasons, having butt one Vakile, we take him into the Service to serve under Seerhaud in the Durbar, or any other business he shall be ordered to.

Agreed that he have 80 Rs. pr. mo., and Pallankeen for his Journey, to commence from the time off our departure, In the Interim, to receive 30 Rs. pr. mo. from 15th Ulto, he having assisted from that time.

The Honourable President and Council having allowed Seerhaud 2 flaggs, pursuant to their orders, he has liberty to wear them."

"Pursuant to a private consultation off the 1st. Instant, Endeavoured by private meanes, to know whither itt was possible to hasten our departure, which the Nabob has Encouraged us to, butt Expects a present, nothing being to be done without itt; Agreed that Mr. Edwd Stephenson deliver out the following things Vizt.—

January 3rd

Imbost Board Cloth		.. 1ps 2ps Ordiny Green.
Find Redd	do	.. 2
Yellow	do	.. 1
Aurora		.. 1
Middling Green		. 3
Ordiny Redd		.. 1
	Total:	.. 9 ps 11.

Horse Pistolls Ip^r. pockett pistollas 1½ p^r.
Bluderbuss; 1 Guns 1 penknives 3.
Mag; Mult: Glass^s: 2 Sizars 3pr.
Triangle Glass : 2.

Finding the Nabob will be contented with this present, we think itt more to the Credit of the Negotiation, that itt be made in Goods, rather than money; and likewise that the value cannot be so considerable, as to make us pause in giving itt; Since we have so just reason to believe our stay has been chiefly caused by Seerhaud, or att least that his Dilatoriness very much contributed thereto. Agreed that itt be done as privately as possible, that so we may the better reap the advantages of itt."

13. DIARY.

January 7th. "Messrs Pattle and Pratt departed for Calcutta"[1].

January 9th. "Mr. Phillips arrived from Calcutta."

14. CONSULTATION.

"To-morrow being the day designed to proceed to our Tents, according to a former obligation, given to the Bootade [*buyutāt*], setting a day from whence the Carriers and Cohars [*kahārs*] shou'd commence; Agreed that all things be in readiness and that we proceed accordingly".

January 10th.

15. DIARY.

"At four aclock came to our Tents, being accompany'd by 200 Horse off the Nabobs, who immediately left us on our arrivall."

January 11th.

[1] Pattle and Pratt arrived at Calcutta on the 14th January, see Vol. II, Pt. 1 893. Pattle died at Calcutta on the 3rd March, 1715, see *ib*. § 901.

16. CONSULTATIONS.

"This day Seerhaud informed us, that the Nabob being turned out, The treasure would nott proceed, for fear off any accident, in itts way to Illabas; That itt was disputed between the Nabob, Duan [*dīwān*], and Buxie [*bakshī*] who should provide the Convoy, and what was sufficient for the carriage of itt; That that Nabob himself would depart after the 13th off Next Moone; That since the Treasure was stopt, he believed they would nott admitt off our proceedure, Withall the Question being putt whither we should consent to a farther stay, so as to proceed with the Nabob; or endeavour to depart, which would oblige them either actually to Stop us, or give some forces for our protection· Concluded on the Latter as the most proper; and that the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] be ordered to endeavour that the Carriages and Doolys [*ḍolīs*] be brought to the Tents, as soon as possible; that we may be in perfect readiness for our departure."

January 15th.

"Messrs Stephenson, Hamilton, and Barker having desired that the Honourable President and Councill might be acquainted with their small allowance for Clothes, in order to some addition; Hoping att least that said allowance may be doubled; We thinking itt very reasonable, Agreed that we write the Honourable President and Councill in their behalf, and send them a Copy of their reasons on that head, vizt

January 24th

1st. The absolute necessity off making a handsome appearance, in all places where we shall come, which was the reason off doubling the Honourable Companys allowance in the first Expence off their apparell, Wherefore now humbly desire itt may be allowed, Seeing itt is an Expence which otherwise there would have been no necessity for, Withall the present Employ off our Honourable Masters taking us from any prospect off private advantage

2ndly. Being reasonably apprehensive our Journey will be much longer than formerly judged by the Honourable President &ca. our daily Expence Striking very deep, and the first provision being near Spoiled, Hope they may have Speedy Supply, nott being in such great circumstances, to doe itt immediately themselves.

Dead 1 Turkey Horse	..	277	
1 Small do	..	145	
		422	

Agreed that itt be wrote off to Profitt & Loss.

There has been disputes for some time between the Nabob, Duan [*diwān*] and Buxie, [*bakshī*] concerning the dispatch off the Treasure, with which we had hopes to proceed; The Duan and Buxie were against the dispatch of itt for fear of itt's being plundered by Sedistenaran & the Eugenes [Sedisht Nārāyan and the Ujainīs], who were now grown desperate; Since Meer Jemla [Mīr Jumlah] was coming with a great force to Suppress them: That Itt was nott unlikely butt he might plunder the Treasure, & with that money raise forces, and give a greater trouble to the Kings army: That in case the Nabob would permitt the Treasure to Lye in the Fort, they would give him a receipt. But he refused to Comply, sending his Brother Haddy Caun [Haji Khān] with 500 Horse, and 500 Buxeries [*Baksaris*] to protect the Treasure. We are informed they will all this day meett at the Buxies (*bakhshi's*): Agreed that Seerhaud goe thither, and that iff possible he gett a permission for our departure along with the Treasure:—

Bot	3 Camells ..	..	685 8. 9	
	1 do ..	..	172.10. 6	
	1 do ..	..	162. 8. 3	
				1,020.11. 6
Bot	1 Pyed Tazzy[1]	..	387.15. 6	
Horses	1 Grey Turkey	..	265.10. 6	
	1 Tangon for the Soldrs	..	132. 0. 6	
	1 Do for Seerhaud	..	232. 2. 0	
				1,017.12. 6
	The amot. off Cattle being Rupees			2,038. 8. 0

Agreed that Mr. Jno. Surman pay for them out off the Cash".

[1] Tazzy is *Tāzi*, an Arab horse.

17. DIARY.

"The treasure arrived from Shaster Cauns [Shāistah Khān's]. Garden[1] att Allum Gunge The Nabob has ordered his brother with 400 Horse & 400 peons as a Convoy to Treasure, butt designs nott to admitt off our departure yett."

January 25th

"The Treasure arrived att the Cozzys [Qāzi's] Garden"[2].

26th

"The Nabobs brother arrived att his tents with the Treasure. The Bootade [*buyutāti*] has recd. 20,000 Rs. on our account butt has nott yett paid out any considerable Sum. Arrived a Cossid [*qāṣid*] from Padree Daniel. By wch. came a letter from Caundora [Khān Daurān] as also another from Syud Sallabutt Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khan] to Mr. Surman. The padree gives an Account off 2,000 Rs. Expended att the time off the late Gesson [*Jashan*] att Court".

27th

"This morning Seerhauds Tent was sent to Aurangabad[3]. The Bottades [*buyutāt's*] writer was here to take an Account off the Carriages. All merchants Goods Brot back from the Treasure, the Government designing that shall proceed alone."

28th

18. CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] having pursuant to a former consultation, been with the Nabob and Buxie [*bakhshi*] to endeavour iff possible to gain our dispatches with the Treasure, Informes us that the thing

January 29th

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[1] There is still an old garden just east of Alamganj in Patna city but this it appears was not Shāistah Khan's This garden is said to have become a jheel with a mound at its S W corner On the north there is a *thākurbāri* of long standing

[2] Qāzībāgh is a *mahalla* in thānā Ālamganj There is no trace of any garden here, only a grave of earth called the Qāzi Sāheb's grave. The name of the Qāzi is unknown, but it is said to have been his wish that his grave should be of earth, so that even the poorest might keep it in order The grave is an object of reverence to both Hindus and Moslems

[3] Perhaps a village about 2 miles south-east of Phulwāri now commonly called Navranga

was impracticable, they not permitting any Carriages to proceed with The Treasure, nor even us, till they were assured that had reached Sarsewrong [Sahāsrām]; when the Nabob promised we should be dispatched; To show that we were unwilling to stay behind, Yesterday we, by a full consent, ordered some off our Tents to be carry'd a Coarce [*kos*] on their way beyond the place where the Treasure was then Encamp'd, designing to have proceeded thither our selves; Butt were forbid by the Nabob and Buxie [*bakhshī*], for which reason now think itt improper, nott being willing to bring matters to an Extremity; Agreed that we continue where we are."

19. DIARY.

January 29th "The Treasure gone to Pulwarry [Phulwārī.]".

30th. "The Treasure gone from Pulwarry."

Seerhaud recd. a letter from Gauzeaudy Caun [G͟hāzīu-ddīn-K͟hān][1] who Sent a Cossid [*qāṣid*] on purpose Assuring

31st. him that should the Present meett with any impediments in the way he would be serviceable with the King.

Sedistenarans [Sidisht Nārāyan's] Vakile going to clear the Treasure thro' his Masters Jurisdiction came here, when he assured us off great Friendship respecting our Journey."

February 17th. "Severall carriages wett, and we believe damaged by the Great rain."

"This night theives breaking in upon some Merchants

19th. Goods, near our Camp, had carried off a Good Booty; but being pursued by our people, forsook their plunder."

20. CONSULTATION.

"This day Seerhaud informes us, that he was Strenuously advised, both by the Duan [*dīwān*] and Buxie [*bakhshī*], to be

[1] Most probably this is Ahmad Beg, G͟hāzīu-dīn K͟hān, Bāhādur, G͟hālib Jang, nicknamed *kosah* or goat beard. He died at Delhi on the 7th. Oct. 1726.

February 20th

quick in our departure; relying no farther on the fair promises off the Nabob; and In case he did nott give forces, so soon as the Squabble was Ended with the Carriers, to proceed without them. Itt is our opinion their advice is wholesome, and ought to be followed: Butt are very apprehensive the Nabob will by some indirect meanes hinder the Bootade [*buyutāti*] from paying the Carriers; notwithstanding the Cohars [*kahārs*] have received two months pay. Agreed that Seerhaud promise the Bootade [*buyutāti*] a Small present, on condition that our buisness be immediately finished, That we may by any meanes gett hence, either with or without Force, Seeing our arrivall att Court this season depends upon itt"

21. DIARY.

"This night a large Tent Burned, Taking fire accidentally

February 21st

by the Lamp, little other damage besides what was nott in Chests."

"Seerhaud visitted the Nabob, where were the Bootade [*buyutāti*], Cozzy [*qāẓi*] and others, after several disputes he

February 22nd

obtained leave for our departure. He was promised 200 Horse as Convoy to Sarsewrong [Sahasrām], and 50 to Illabas [Allahabad]. The Nabob likewise sent his Gassowl [*yasāwal*] to hasten the Bootade [*buyutāti*]."

February 24th,

"Seerhaud took his leave off the Nabob. The Tent att Aurungabad gone on to Pulwarry [Phulwārī]"

22 CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] having been at the Buxies [*bakhshi's*], was informed, that unless we did proceed

February 25th.

immediately, there might something happen in the Space of two days, which would disappoint our Journey for this Season; Seerhaud communicated this news to us by letter, Joining his own opinion to that of the

Buxie [*bakhshī*]; Agreed that we decamp to morrow on Seerhauds note, and proceed to Pulwarry [Phulwārī], there Expecting the Issue off our Affairs in the Patna Durbars [*darbārs*].

In consideration that money beforehand must be given to our Horsemen, Peons, and other Servants, on our first Setting out; Agreed that they have all 2 months pay given them, butt to commence from the first of the Ensuing month, as per Agreement, and with the advice and desire of Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], That wee may not Loose any time."

23. DIARY.

February 26th. "Arrived att Pulwarry [Phulwārī] with all the Carriage and Doolys [dolis]."

March 3rd "Arrived with our Tents and Present att Nobatpore [Naubatpur]."

"Seerhaud Sent the Nabobs Dustick [*dastak*] for the way."

6th. "Dispatched a Cossid [*qāṣid*] to Padree Daniel to prevent more bills of Exchange.

The Chief carriers kept in prison here, in order to finish their buisness."

March 8th. "Wrote a note to Seerhaud, advising him to come out, leaving the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] behind; and iff after we had gone two days Journey they could nott obtain any convoy, then to come after us, giving the Kings Dewhy"[1].

Nobatpore, March 10th. "Received a note from Seerhaud that after much trouble, he says, 50 Horsemen and 50 peons were obtained from the Nabob. He farther adds, that iff all things are ready, he will come out to morrow, iff not, then the day following."

24. CONSULTATION.

"We have now received a note from Seerhaud off the following contents: That the Nabob having sent his forces to

[1] The phrase stands for *duhāī denā*, crying for the King's justice.

Nobatpore, March 12th.

us, he went to take his leave off the Baxie [*bakhshī*], who was against our Immediate proceedure, without a better Guard, or till such time as Meer Jemlah [Mīr Jumla] arrived on this side Illabas [Allahabad]; That all the Kings Phowsdars [*faujdārs*] on the road had fled, for fear of the Eugenes [*Ujainīs*] and so we should hazzard the loosing our Present. This advice (as he writes) was strengthened by Caun Chund, Sheak Esaw, Futtechundshaw, and Lolgee [Khān Chand, Shekh Isā, Fatḥ Chand Sāhā and Lāljī], wherefore he recommended itt to our consideration, withall desiring orders, whither he should stay, and follow their advice, or come out, we being contented to run any hazzard with the present convoy, he promising implicite obedience. We have examined the passengers on the road and find that Merchants Goe and come without any more Extortion than Usuall. Itt is our opinion we ought to proceed for the following reasons.

1st. That as we have had a great deal off trouble, with the Carriers and Cohars [*kahārs*], the first of which have nott yett received their money, our longer stay must rekindle the quarrell about demurrage, which we fear cannot be ended without a great expence out off our Masters pockett: and farther, in case we do nott arrive att Court this season, itt is a query whither the King will be att the Double Expence.

2dly. That our Horsemen, peons, and Servants have commenced double pay from the 1st Instant, which raises a vast Expence.

Note: This was by Seerhauds advising that all was finished.

3dly. That unless we proceed immediately, 'twill be impossible to reach Court this Year. The consequence off which must be unnecessary and Great Expences, the Risque off damaging our present, butt above all the fear of nott succeeding in our design, itt being next to an impossibility to keep the Court in good temper, as appears by what has been done hitherto. All these things being considered, we conclude that our farther stay is off the worst consequence, That the risque is only what Expence we may be att with the Eugenes [*Ujainīs*], (and that supposed) we having received Court Dustick [*dastak*] and the Nabobs assurance, that we shall nott be molested. We find by Seerhauds note that he is near overcome by the perswasion

off the Buxie [*bakhshi*] etc.; for which reason Agreed that a note be wrote to him, possitively to come out; which in case he refuses, that is answerable for any ill that may ensue by our farther stay."

25. DIARY.

"Arrived the Convoy consisting of 50 Horse and 50 Peons. Att 2 a Clock received a note from Seerhaud, he says he will come to morrow, butt makes no Excuse for nott coming immediately, notwithstanding the possitive order for that purpose."

March 13th.

26. CONSULTATION.

"Seerhaud nott having thought fitt to obey the summons sent him the 12th inst., has instead thereof answered by Querks and Interrogations altogether unreasonable. Pursuant to the Honourable President and Councill of Calcutta's commission and instructions, having ordered that every thing should be transacted according to the result off Consultation, We very well considered the risque off the road etc. att the time off our Summons to Seerhaud; wherefore his refusing to comply therewith is unanswerable. The Charge off the Carriage being paid out of the Kings treasure, gives an opportunity of Seerhaud att this present to consult his own private interest, and we although dissenting are nott capable of breaking any measures he has taken; He being ordered by the Honourable President and Councill to act as head Vakile [*vakīl*] and from which we have no authority to suspend him, unless by a speciall order from thence. It is now a duty incumbant on us, in respect both to our Employers and our Selves, to be cleared off any ill consequence that may Ensue, which can be no otherwise effected, than by prostesting against Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād]. Agreed that we draw out a prostest against him; that one Copy he hereunto annexed and another sent to the Honourable President and Councill, to which we refer our Selves."

March 14th.

27. Protest against Cojah Seerhaud.

"Whereas the Honble President and Council off Fort William, by their Generall instructions, dated May 13th 1714, have Empowered Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], to act in consort with us, as 2nd In Councill, and head Vakile, pursuant thereto he has been often called on to act in that Station; which tho he never perfectly acquiesced in ye limitations off said orders; Yett his obstinacy was never more barefaced, and off worse consequence, than whatt attends ye Present Juncture off Affairs.

1714 March 14th Nobatpore.

"1st Att ye pressing instigation off Seerhaud, strengthened by Buxies [*bakhshī's*] advice, (as he writes) we came to Pulwarry, and from thence to Nobatpore. The quarrell with ye Carriers being near adjusted, and that off ye Cohars [*kahārs*] already over; withall the Nabob having been prevailed on, to send 50 Horse and 50 Peons for our protection thro' his province.

"Sedistenaran [Sidisht Nārāyan] has given assurances both to ye Nabob, and us, that he will nott touch ye Kings Present; but only receive his Jemidarry[1] from Merchants Goods; wherefore should we stay any longer, the Quarrells with ye Carriers and Cohars [*kahārs*] about demurrage would be rekindled; and how ready ye Kings officers are to pay itt, we are very well acquainted— Besides, ye meer Waiting for Meer Jemlahs [Mīr Jumlah's] arrivall, would disappoint our reaching Court this Season, and so consequently very much hazzard ye Success off our Honble Masters buisness, by nott Striking while ye Iron is Hott, with this Certainty off 6 Months Expence altogether Unnecessary

"That itt is more for our Honble Masters Interest and Honour, to risque any Expence off ye road, than stay, and In ye least hazzard our buisness, by nott arrivall.

For y^e^ reasons above-mentioned, Seerhaud has been possitively ordered to leave Patna, and in case he did nott, or occasioned our farther stay, that he was answerable for all y^e^ ill consequences that might Ensue. Seerhaud has nott only refused these our orders, butt has hindered y^e^ Bootades Gomasto

[1] *Zamīndārī*, that is dues as *zamindār*

[*buyutāt's gumāshtah*] from coming to finish y^e^ business off the Carriage; withall endeavouring to gett our convoy recalled by y^e^ Nabob. He has nott thought fitt to give any reasons for his non Compliance, (we believe there are none): wherefore he is occasion off our farther unnecessary Expence, and all other ill consequences that may accrew by our longer stay; and accordingly we Protest Against you Seerhaud Israel, and Your Proceedings, for y^e^ following reasons.

1st On y^e^ quarrell that must necessaryly ensue with y^e^ Carriers and Cohars, [*kahārs*] for demurrage in case we doe nott proceed immediately or nott arrive att Court this season.

2nd That on our leaving Pulwarry, which was by Seerhauds advice, himself promising to come the same day; The pay off Horsemen, Peons etc^a^ Servants is doubled, amounting to a very great Expence.

3rd That waiting for Meer Jemlahs [Mīr Jumlah's] arrivall, will putt us out off a capacity to arrive this Season; The ill consequence off which will be y^e^ damage off y^e^ Present, A vast Expence, and very probably y^e^ entire overthrow off our buisness.

4th Being assured that Seerhauds Stay is occasioned by Merchants Goods; Severall Carriages off which are arrived in our Camp, taking his name on them: Wherefore beleive he has endeavoured to gett y^e^ Dustick [*dastak*] and convoy recall'd, resolving to waite Meer Jemlahs [Mīr Jumlah's] arrivall, when y^e^ road may be clear enough for his purpose, but nott consonant to our Masters Interest.

For these reasons, and whatever else may, or can be alledged against you, for your breaking y^e^ orders, and instructions off y^e^ Honble President and Councill off Fort William, In our own name to clear ourselves off any damage that may ensue and in y^e^ name off Our Honble Employers, We protest against You Seerhaud Israel, and Affirm and Declare by these presents, that you are y^e^ actuall occasion of y^e^ Double Expence which has commenced from our arrivall, from Pulwarry, and off all other damages off weight, and Charge that may accrew by our farther Stay here, and for which you are obliged to answer.

Whereas nott having y^e usuall forms off Protests by us, According to y^e law, we Affirm that this ought to be, and is as good in every respect, as iff done in y^e letter off y^e laws off England.

Wittness our Hands, and Dated att
Nobatpore March 14th 171⅘.

A true Copy.
Hugh Barker Secry"

28. DIARY.

"Meer Jemlah [Mīr Jumlah] is arrived att Attayah [Iṭāwah or Iṭāyah], and his Aftally consisting off 12000 Horse att Shasadpore [Shāhzādpūr] Sedistenarans [Sidisht Nārāyan's] Forces in Possession off Sarsawrong [Sahasrām], y^e Kings Phowsdar [*faujdār*], who was displaced some time agoe, being Fled to Banarass."

March 14th

"Received notes from our Vakiles [*vakīls*]. They write the Nabob is very Angry we doe nott proceed with the convoy he sent us. The Bootades Gomasto [*buyutātī's gumāshstah*] had come out, butt was prevented by the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] and Chilah [*chelā*], who were Mohussells [*muhassals*][1] on him, we suppose they had their instructions from Seerhaud"

March 19th

29. CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] being just arrived from the City, The protest given against him, bearing date the 14th Instant was read, and fully explained to him. He now alledges that his notes were nott answered, and by that meanes, would evade the possitive order to come out. He being required to give his reasons for his nott complying, Answers that they were four days Agoe, sent to the Honourable President and Councill off Calcutta."

March 22nd
The Evening

[1] Persons deputed to worry a man into paying a due or complying with an order

30. DIARY.

"The Bootades Gomasto [*buyutāti's gumāshstah*] arrived from the City, having sett out att Mid-night to escape the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] whom Seerhaud Sett over him to prevent his coming. Seerhaud and the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] arrived without giving any notice off their coming; Butt we conjectured right, that the Gomastoes [*gumāshstahs*] coming would bring Seerhaud, Seeing He laboured so much to prevent itt. He brought a letter from the Padree, off which shall speak in the consultation to be held to-morrow."

March 22nd.

31. CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] having delivered a letter from Padree Daniel, which being translated into English, Ordered that a Copy be here inserted.

March 23rd

To Mr. J. Surman and Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād].

'My True and well beloved Disciples, after the kind salutations from Padree Daniel, I advise you, that two years are now Elapsed, since upon your desire I first entered into your business. God be thankt, whatever orders You desired from the King, you have and will obtaine. God prosper Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur] and Sellabutt Caun [Sayyed Ṣalābat Khān], who have comply'd with all my desires, introducing my petitions to the King as you will clearly perceive by the orders already Sent. They daily enquire after your departure, saying that whatsoever you desired has been sent you, wherefore your long stay seemes Strange. By the Grace off God and the favour off the Nabob, the Charge off your Carriage has been obtained: A favour never before conferred on any one from the time off Tamerlane. This is purely owing to the Grace off God and favour off the Nabob. Besides this our Enemies represent that the Charge off the Carriage will amount to near a Leck off Rupees and that the whole cost off the present cannot Exceed two. To this I answered, that an Enemy was nott to be beleived, That itt was the English Elchi

[*ambassador*], and that the amount off the Present could nott be less than 10 or 15 Leck. I was doing these things, as will more plainly appear by the Enclosed note; when itt Seems, within a small time Mr. Jno. Surmans letter to Monsr. Martin arrived. He wrote that his patrons were the Vizier and Buxie, Omeerall Omrah [*Amiru-l-Umarā*]; and by whose meanes all orders that came were obtained: no letter off thanks either to Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur], or Sellabutt Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] arriving; For which reason they have been very angry with me; That for your account so many orders had been granted, which was never done to any Elchi, since Tamerlane; That we have appyl'd our Selves to your business, and that after You had gained your point such letters were very Surprizing. 'Tis for this reason, Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur] is very much displeased. I returned answer that these were stories' entirely raised by enemies, That I would dispatch a Cossid [*qāṣid*], that should go in 17 days, and return in as many, and that whatever answer was given I would inform him off. Itt seemes there were Severall things wrote in a letter to Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān]; Said Caun [Sayyad Khān] sent that letter to Sallabut Caun Behauder [Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur][1] who shew'd itt me, at which I was very much ashamed. I represented that itt was entirely false, that the English Elchy had no dependance on any one besides Caundora [Khān Daurān] and Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān]; I farther added, that I was only a praying Faquir, and that 'twas nott my buisness to be a Vakile; That indeed I had received a great many Letters from Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], who is my disciple, for which reason I entered upon the English Elchys buisness, that these men are unacquainted with lyes, knowing butt one word, and Except the Assistance of this patronage, know no other; and iff they Employ me in this buisness, can know no other; and should the buisness in the End point to Jumdah-Tulmooluck[2] and Omeerall-Omrah[3], yett all grate-

[1] Mir Abū-l Hasan Sayyd Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur, Mujāhid Jang. On 7 Jamadi I 1128, *i e*, 29 or 30 April, 1716, N.S, and 18 or 19 April, O S, he was appointed '*arz-i-mukarrar* He was an old man, and died at Shahjahānābād, 26 Ramazan, 1136, *i e*, 17 June 1724 N S. at the age of about eighty lunar years

[2] *i e*, Jamdatu-l Mulk, a title of the vizier

[3] *i e.*, Amīru-l-Umarā, premier prince, a title of Husain 'Ali Khān.

full acknowledgment is certainly due to the place off their first address. In what thing has there been any neglect, that such letters are sent ? Iff you have any caution on my account, for God sake acquaint me, that I may wash my Self clean off this buisness, and that I may nott a Second time be disgraced by Omrahs [*umarā*], that are equall to Princes; Or iff you design Monsieur Martin for the Management off this buisness, advise, that I may have no farther trouble. Iff I am to have itt, then write an Arreedaust [*'arẓdāsht*] to Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur] and Sallabutt Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] gratefully acknowledging their Favours and that Padree Daniel daily advises of their continuance.

I am Your Slave'

This letter containing reflections on Jno. Surman as if he had wrote to Zeaudy Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn] & Monsr. Martin that he had no obligations to Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur], butt was entirely obliged to the Vizier and Buxie [*bakhshī* i.e., Ḥusain 'Alī Khān] for which reason Caundora [Khān Daurān], had sent for the Padree, (as he writes) and shewed him the letter being very much displeased; Jno. Surman affirms this to be false, and appeals to all the English Gentlemen with him, (who very well know what letters he has wrote) that he did nott write any thing of that nature either to Monsr. Martin or Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān]. He owns a letter to Monsr. Martin, Jointly with Mr. Stephenson, butt it was only concerning Hodgee Omud [Ḥājī Ahmad]; The answer to which was transmitted to the Honble President & Councill in Fort William. Wherefore what the Padree has wrote, is a palpable Falsity.

The Bootades Gomasto [*buyutāti's gumāshstāh*] being arrived in the Camp, with a design to finish the buisness off the Carriers and Cohars [*kahārs*] which is likely to be made up, the Demurrage from the 1st off the month Excepted: Itt is our Opinion that Seerhaud had better Stay with us that we may be altogether, more proper for frequent Consultations; Butt that the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] be sent to the Duan [*dīwān*] and Buxie [*bakhshī*], to endeavour the obtaining the Demurrage above-mentioned."

32. CONSULTATION.

"In our consultation off the 23rd Inst. There being a letter produced from Padree Daniel to Mr. Surman and Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], We have now very well considered itt. Agreed That the following answer be given to itt "That Mr. J. Surman never wrote either to Monsr. Martin, or Zeaudy Caun [Zevāu-d-dīn Khān] concerning the management off the Companys Affairs att Court, and much less concerning any thing Asserted in his letter. That he should nott creditt things off this nature, without better grounds than what appeared att present. That asserting our present to amount to 10 or 15 Leck off rupees was a very great error, such expressions being highly improper in the Kings Durbar, Butt as we were incapable either to add to, or diminish from the present we had received, So on our Arrivall att Court the same should be punctually delivered. He advising that he has been obliged, the Expence in obtaining the Severall orders sent from Court Excepted, to give under his hand and Seal obligations to the officers in post, for payment off certain Sums off money and Goods on our arrivall; We desire to know by what authority he made this step, Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] denying the giving any Such orders.' That a particular account be given off the reason off our Stay; and although we know no reason why Caun-dora [Khān Daurān] and Sallabutt Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] should be so angry, as he affirms, Yett according to his desire, Agreed that letters be wrote to them with a full account why we have been detained so long, and a gratefull acknowledgment off Their Favours; and that copys off said letters be sent to the Honourable President and Councill.

Nobatpore, March 25th.

Being in a readiness to proceed, whenever the Government will vouchsafe to dismiss us, we shall now make some addition to the pay off our Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*], and Persian Secretary, Agreed that Otmaram [Ātmārām] have 35 Rupees per Month, Kissengiben [Kṛishṇajīvan] 20 Rupees, and Momudy [Muhumdī] 30 Rupees to commence from the 1st Instant.

Omerseign [Amar Sing] being arrived in the Camp, is endeavouring to make up the buisness off the Carriers and

Cohars [*kahārs*], which is so perplexed That they refuse to stirr on any other terms, than the payment off their demurrage from the time off our first arrivall att Pulwarry [Phulwārī]. We having also received answer from the Goorzeburdar [*gurz-bardār*] and Vakile, that the Duan [*dīwān*] had possitively denyed the payment of any demurrage, withall itt being the Generall opinion that we shall never obtain itt; Agreed that we endeavour to compose this buisness, still leaving roome, that in Case it should be allowed hereafter, itt may nott be to the Detriment off our Honourable Masters. For we are well assured, that a Neglect in these differences would in a very little time bring them past redress.

We find the Carriers demands amount to this, vizt.

1st A payment for what carriages laden, beyond the Kings Custom, which was occasioned by a mistake in our generall calculation off the weight off Goods, and was considerably encreased by what received from Patna Factory.

2ndly A payment of all demurrage, commencing From February 26th, the time off our first decampment to this Instant[1].

Agreed that the first demand be paid out off the Merchants. Goodss. This will partly repay the 2500 Rupees due to our Honourable Masters. The remainder being ballanced by account demurrage.

Agreed also that we see them paid their demurrage either out off our own Cash or the Kings treasury.

The difference with the Cohars [*kahārs*] is a thing off far greater consequence, and to adjust which we are att a stand, they having received and Commenced 2 Months pay from the Date abovementioned; so that more than half is already Expended, and they in an uproar for more money.

Being informed that Seerhaud had received 2000 Siccas from the Bootade [*buyutātī*] account the 3 Months pay off the Cohars [*kahārs*], payable att Illabas [Allahabad]. He now owns the receipt off itt, and that he had given his receipt to the Bootade [*buyutātī*]. Butt that Sum being demanded off him he said he had itt nott with him, but promised to deliver

[1] As far as I can understand the details of these transactions, this condition was not accepted by the carriers. They demanded demurrage from the 11th anuary and eventually got it.

itt the Following day, which when received, Ordered that itt be brought to Account Cash.

The Carriers being accountable for Rs. 2661-9 pursuant to a former contract; & there being now moneys sufficient to clear that accot. Agreed that Mr. E. Stephenson credit them by the Following heads Vizt—

Merchts Goods for 91 Mds overladen att 10 Rs pr. Md is	910	
Demurrage[1] in part due to them ..	1,751	9
	2,661	9

Itt being impossible att present perfectly to adjust the Accot off Dumurrage, The Charging the Mer'chts with their Dividend is also referr'd till another opportunity

Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] Assents to this Consultation a sentence in the third paragraph Excepted (Vizt Itt is the Generall opinion) Said Seerhaud Affirms that itt [demurrage money] is procurable, for which purpose he will speedily return to the City."

33. DIARY.

March 26th "Seerhaud returned to the City."

March 28th "Seerhaud writes The Duan [*dīwān*] will give us a Convoy in Case we take on our Selves the risque off the road."

34 CONSULTATION.

"Itt was In a former Consultation Agreed by a majority, That Seerhaud should remain with us, and that the Goorze-

[1] I do not understand how this demurrage is calculated At the rate of Rs 35 a day it would practically be the demurrage for 50 days, but according to this consultation demurrage was to be paid only from the 26th February Thus on the 25th March there would be only 28 days' demurrage due. That the rate was Rs 35 a day is proved by the payment made to the carriers on the 25th May

Nobatpore, April 1st.

burdars [*gurzbardārs*] with a Vakile should be sent to endeavour the obtaining an allowance off Demurrage, and Convoy. However Seerhaud thought fitt to give no compliance, butt returned to Patna the 26th Ulto. There being no other method to prevent this butt force, which we judged improper to make use off; and he affirming he only went to take leave off the Buxie [*bakhshī*], with reitterated promises to return the 3rd day, we rather Suffered, than consented to his going: Yett he has nott kept his word.

The Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] on their arrivall att the City having received a clear answer from the Duan [*dīwān*], that he would pay no demurrage, without a possitive order from the King, we were well convinced what we had to depend on. Yett that Seerhaud might nott be backward in amusing us with Shows off the Companys Interest, He for three or four days Successively wrote us, nott to intermeddle in this affair, requiring att the Same time a Calculation off the Demurrage, under Mr. Surmans Seal, on delivery off which, he affirmed the money to be forth coming out off the Kings treasury. We must here observe that when he was with us it was unanimously agreed, that the payment off this money lay between the King and ourselves. We are well assured he has no grounds for Such advices. However we sent him the Calculation he required; Upon receipt off which, he betook himself to this last, but indifferent shift for farther delay: The Duan [*dīwān*] saying we had no buisness to be concerned about the Demurrage, but that iff his Majesty was for the hasty arrivall off the Present, the Cohars [*kahārs*] and Carriers might be sent with itt in Chains. These foolish flights were so farr from convincing us, that we were Assured every thing was going to ruin, unless Suddainly retrieved. The carriers refusing to Stirr, and the Cohars [*kahārs*] to take up their burdens, without matters were in some measure adjusted.

Omer Seign [Amar Sing], who has been indefatigable in adjusting the present differences, has communicated a Scheem to us, according to which he says the Carriages will be finished, Vizt. 1st To pay for what overladed on Each Carriage beyond the kings Custom att 10 Rupees per Maund. 2ndly To Engage the payment off Demurrage from the time of our first decamp-

ment either from the king according to his Custom, or from our Selves according to that off Merchants. That we give them a note for this; In return off which, Each Carrier will sign a discharge. This being conformable to a project agreed to, in a Consultation off the 25th Ult°. butt nott then completed, by reason off the differences among the Carriers them Selves. Agreed that itt be now putt in Execution, and that Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] be given to Each Chowdry [*chaudhari*], and Turbetts[1] to Every Carrier with 50 Rupees for a treat.

Omerseign [Amar Sing] having Such Success with the Carriers, Agreed, that he undertake to compose matters likewise with the Cohars, We being off opinion, itt is for the Interest off our Honble Masters to take them before their 2 Mos are Expired, notwithstanding itt may att present Seem Expensive: for should we Stay never so little longer, we may be obliged to pay the whole over again, which according to the kings Custom is 7 rupees per maund to Each Cohar [*kahār*]."

35. DIARY.

April 3rd — "One hundred Buxeries [*baksaris*] arrived from the Duan [*dīwān*] under a pretence off Guarding us."

April 5th — "Last night Esgar Caun [Asghar Khān] was in Possession off the Fort off Patna."

36. CONSULTATION.

Nobatpore, April 6th

"The buisness off the Cohars [*kahārs*] has given us more trouble, than was really Expected, they demanding their pay, and which nott being comply'd with by the Government, has putt us to the Utmost Extremity. This is purely owing to our Stay. All the arguments possible have been used to convince them that the large pay they had received was nott designed for maintainance during

[1] *i e*, turbans

their Stay, but that another account must be made up for that time, according to what Customary in Patna, we nott having perfectly commenced our Journey. Butt their being so great a Number, and withall so refractory, no reasons could work on them; neither would they come to any Agreement. We would willingly, considering their great necessity, have lett them had a months pay att 2 rupees per month butt that was altogether rejected. The Bootades Gomasto [*buyutāti's gumāshtaḥ*] now informs us, that since the Government have refused to adjust this matter, by paying more money out off the kings treasury; Itt was nott feasible to be entirely made up here: wherefore itt would be best for us to leave off the project off any immediate adjustment, butt endeavour to proceed without itt. He farther adds, that iff we would lend the Cohars [*kahārs*] 2400 Rupees they would give an obligation to proceed without any farther demands, till they arrived att Illabas [Allahabad], iff itt be within the Space of one Month eighteen days, when they would Expect the 2000 Siccas, that Seerhaud has received; waiting for the remainder off their 3 Months pay till they reached Agra: and afterwards, on the finishing their Accounts att Dilly, they will repay what money we advanced them. We lament the misfortunes that have attended our proceedure, they being entirely owing to Seerhauds management. What his designs are God knows, butt they seem to us, far from the Interest of our Honourable Masters. However Seeing things are come to this pitch, That unless we are in a Capacity by making up this business, to proceed, we shall find a stop to our Journey in an improper place, When the Governments money will be expended and their Demands tribbled; We judge this the best opportunity, (Seeing we shall be compell'd att last to do itt) to lay hold off the least Expence, Wherefore Agreed that Mr. John Surman pay the Sum abovementioned to the Cohars [*kahārs*], and receive the necessary notes from them: That ordinary Seerpaws [*sār-o-pās*] and Turbetts be given to the Cheifs, and 50 Rupees to Feast them.

In the management off this business Seerhaud has shown himself very free from any apprehensions off the ill consequences, that must attend our delay, and Seemes Satisfied with the Slight answers off the Duan [*dīwān*] and Buxie [*bakshī*]; as iff it were

possible for men to labour without Sustenance, and be carried in Chains, when they will come to no conclusions concerning our Convoy, or any thing Else, still putting us off From to day till to morrow, which has run on Six weeks Successively, and yett our Affairs nott Seeming in the least advanced. We trust the management of this Affair will have the approbation off our Honourable Employers.

We assert this to be entirely owing to Seerhaud, and for these reasons, we can have no confidence in him; and as we may att present say the Camp is, in some measure, under our command, Agreed that we proceed forthwith, and that a Summons be sent to Seerhaud and the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] immediately to leave the City and come to us."

67. DIARY.

April 7th "Arrived att Bickerum Surray [Bikram Sarāe]"[1].

April 8th "Arrived att Moblapore [Mohibalipur]"[2].

April 11th "Arrived att Arwell [Arwal][3]. This is a place where Sedistenaran [Sidisht Nārāyan] has a strong Fort and Good guard."

April 12th "Arrived att Aganuer [Agānāur]"[4].

April 13th. "Arrived att Doudnagur [Dāūdnagar]"[5].

April 14th "Arrived att Gotowly [Ghātauli][6] on the Bank off the Soane [Son]."

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[1] Bikrām Sarāe, an outpost in thana Pāliganj, Parganna Ballia, 26 miles from Patna

[2] Mohibalipur is 13 miles and 22 chains beyond Bikrām Sarāe, but in the same thana and parganna

[3] Arwal on the Son, a thana in the Jahānābād subdivision, was formerly celebrated for its sugar and paper manufactories

[4] Agānāur, near the Son, lies about 12 miles S W of Arwal, within its jurisdiction The village was once guarded by ramparts and gates

[5] Dāūdnagar, a small town on the Son, 10 miles S.W of Agānāur, was founded by Dāud Khān a *risaldār* of Aurangzeb, who gave him the pargannas of Amchha, Manora, and Goh as a reward for conquering Palamau It is surrounded by a moat and till recently it had gates which were shut every night It is at present a thana in the Aurangābād subdivision, and lies on the main road from Benares to Gaya.

[6] Ghātauli, also in the Aurangābād subdivision, lies on the right bank of the Son 12 miles S W of Dāūdnagar, and 5 miles N E. of Bārūn, where the Grand Trunk Raod crosses the Son.

April 17th. "Arrived Cojah Seerhaud,[1] with M. Mosoud [Muḥammad Mas'ūd] our Memaundar [*mihmāndār*]."

38. CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] being arrived, now delivers the money which he rec^d from the Bootade [*buyutāi*] amounting to 7737 Sicc^s of the 3rd and 4th Years Stamp. He acknowledges to have recd 9737. Butt the remain^s 2000 Rs. being demanded, He promises to Acco^t for itt. With Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] is Arrived M. Mosaud [M. Mas'ūd] with 100 horse, & 100 more Peons. As he does nott think itt safe for us to proceed under his protection alone; Agreed that Mr. J. Surman and C. Seerhaud visitt Gyrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān], who is Encamped near us, to endeavour gaining his protection att least as farr as Banarass."

Gotowly, April 20th.

39. DIARY.

April 21st. "Arrived att Mokraim [Makrāīn][2] having crossed the Soane."

April 23rd. "100 Rs given to the Carriers on Account."

April 24th. "Arrived att Sarsewrong [Sahsrām]"[3].

April 25th. "Arrived beyond Sarsewrong."

April 26th. "Arrived att Sabarabad [Sābarābād][4], we are now taking out a present for Gyrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān]."

[1] He had been to Mīr Jumla's camp, and had accompanied the caravan as far as Dāūdnagar Mīr Jumla gave him a recommendatory letter to Khān Daurān and an order for Governor Hedges He also said that he had written to the King on behalf of the English

[2] Makrāīn is a small village on the west bank of the Son, below the Dehri railway bridge, a mile and a half north of the causeway, which carries the Great Trunk Road

[3] Sahsrām, a wellknown place of some historical importance, is the headquarters of a sub-division. Here the Emperor Sher Shah was born, and here his body lies buried in a magnificent tomb The distance between Makrāīn and Sahsrām is thirteen miles.

[4] Sābarābād an insignificant village on the Grand Trunk Road ten miles from Sahasrām. Here is a well where travellers often halt.

April 27th. "Arrived at Forokabad [Fākhrābād][1]—Note the Nabob Angry that we went beyond him."

April 28th. "Arrived att Motany [Mūṭhānī]"[2].

40. Consultation.

"Being arrived on the skirts off Meer Jemlahs [Mīr Jumlah's][3] army; there is an absolute necessity to visit him; nott only for the great favour he is in with the King, butt the Service or disservice he is capable of doing, to our Honourable Masters affairs in Bengall, with the hopes off obtaining a Sunnod [*sanad*] for our trade in that Province, for these reasons, Agreed that we all visitt him and that Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] go before in order to our Handsome reception. Itt being likewise necessary to present him and his officers, and particularly according to his quality Agreed, that the amount, according to the nearest Conjecture, be about 4000 rupees Invoice price."

Motany, April 28th.

41. Diary.

April 30th "Four Horsemen and Severall peons left us. Arrived att Sownt [Sānwat]"[4].

May 1st. "Arrived att Currom-Nossa [Karmnāsā]. This river parts the Subaships off Beharr and Illaabass."

May 3rd "Arrived att Syud-Raja [Sayyidrajā]'[5].

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[1] Fākhrābād a village on the Grand Trunk Road thirteen miles from Sābarābād. The old pilgrim route to Baidyanāth is said to have branched off here

[2] Mūthānī, is only two miles from Fākhrābād on the Grand Trunk Road.

[3] Ubaidullah, a native of Samarqand, entitled Muta'madu-l-mulk, Mu'azzam Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muzafferjung, Mīr Jumlah, Tarkhānī, Sultānī He was appointed to Patna as a sort of banishment and received his last audience at Delhī on the 16th Dec 1714 He died in January 1732, aged 63 years

[4] Sānwat is a village close to the Grand Trunk Road seven miles from the Karmnāsa, and thirteen from Mūṭhānī

[5] Sayyid rajā is a bazar in the Narwan parganna of the Chandauli tahsil, 24 miles E S E of Benares, and 8 miles E. of Chandauli, in Lat. 25° 15'.12" north, and Long 83°.23' 56" east. It was founded nearly 400 years ago by Sayyid Rajā Ahmad, whose tomb is still preserved and is an object of adoration There also remain a masonry *sarae* and a well built by him. The massive ruins still found here show how imposing the buildings must have once been

May 4th.	"Arrived att Behauder-pore[Bahādurpur] on the Bank of the Ganges, over Against Banarass."
May 5th.	"Ferrying over our Goods."
May 6th	"Ferrying over our Goods."
May 7th.	"Ferrying over our Goods."
May 8th.	"Last Night a prodigious Storm of Wind and Rain to the damaging off some off our Goods. Mr. Surman &c[a]. Came over the river."
May 9th.	"We passed the City of Banarass."
May 11th	"Mr. Surman Visitted Gyrutt Caun [Ghāirat Khān], hoping to gett leave to goe before him, butt itt was nott obtained."
May 12th.	"Arrived att Mohun k' Surray [Mohan ki Sarāe]"[1].
May 13th.	"Arrived att Baboo k' Surray [Babū ki Sarāe]"[2].
May 14th.	"Arrived att Madoo-Huttea [Mādho Haṭīyā]"[3].
May 15th	"Arrived att Jugdis k' Surray [Jagdīs ki Sarāe]"[4].
May 16th.	"Arrived att Sidabad [Saidabad][5]. Mr. Surman Visitted Gyrutt-Caun [Ghāirat Khāṇ]."
May 17th.	"Arrived on the Banks off the Ganges before Illaabass [Allahabad]."
May 18th.	"Ferrying over our Goods. Seerhaud arrived."
May 20th.	"Arrived between the New and old City having passed the river."
May 21st	"The Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] gone iff possible to gett 15 days Demurrage, or what the Governemnt will allow."

[1] Sarāe Mohan is a village in the Kaswar Sarkari parganna of the Benares tahsīl, about nine miles west of Benāres

[2] Sarāe Bābu, in the Bhadoi parganna, Konrh tahsil, and Aurai thāna of the Mirzapur district, is situated on the Grand Trunk Road, two miles last of the camping ground at Katka There is a tank in the village with two *dharamshalas*.

[3] Mādho Haṭīyā, better known as Bazār Mādho Simha, also in the Bhadoi parganna, Konrh tahsil, and Auṛai thāna, is on the Grand Trunk Road nine miles from Sarāe Bābu. It is a centre of the Mirzapur carpet-weaving industry

[4] Jagdīs ki Sarāe in tahsil Konih, thāna Gopiganj, is on the Grand Trunk Road eleven miles from Mādho Haṭiyā or Bazār Mādho simha.

[5] Saidabad is a village in the parganna of the same name in the Handia tahsil

42. Consultation.

"Seerhaud going to visit Seer Bolund-Caun [Sarbuland Khān][1] was besett by the Kings Cohars [*kahārs*] (who carry our present) They pelting him with stones, He very narrowly Escaping with his life; For before any persons Could come to his Assistance, Many off his own and our Servants were knocked down. This Disturbance arose from the Government ordering butt 2000 Siccas to be paid att Illaabass [Allahabad] with which they nott being contented demanded more pay, but finding no one that would advance them anything, After ineffectuall applications to the Government, they took this method. We have endeavoured to punish this insolence, butt there being so great a Number, and no others procurable in their Stead; We have found, by the Governments advice, as well as our own Experience, that nothing butt mildness is to be used; and that we must in some measure gratify their demands: for which reason, Agreed that Mr. John Surman pay them 3600 Siccas; which when received they promise to proceed att least as far as Coora-Jehaunabad [Korah Jahānābād][2].

Illaabass, May 22nd.

Gyrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān], whom we have accompanyed to this place, being now in Mourning, for his wife's Brother (who was burned by a Mischance)[3] which will detain him three or four days, We judge itt highly prejudiciall to our Affairs to waite his motions any longer, and on the Contrary, that this is the fittest opportunity to gett leave to proceed before him, Yett as we are Satisfied that he Expects something for civility already Shown us; Agreed that Mr E. Stephenson make up the following present.—Vizt.

Broad Cloth (Aurora 1 ps. Fine Scarlett, Fine Green and Imbost, each 11 yds. 14 nlls.).

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[1] Sarbuland Khān had been appointed governor of Allahabad *subah* from the 16th June 1714

[2] The *kahārs* or porters had already received an extra payment of Rs. 2,400 on the 6th April. They are now given extra payments of Rs 2,000 and of Rs 3,600 Altogether they had an extra payment of Rs 8,000. This at the King's rate of payment of Rs. 7 a man a little less than a month's pay for the 1,200 *kahārs*. They afterwards reckoned it as 28 days' pay.

[3] Nūru-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, son of Nūru-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, Bārha, died at Delhi of burns, on the 10th March, 1715, N.S., aged 20 years

1 Chest Syrahs, 1 China Escrutore, 2 dram Cases,
4 pistolls, 2 penknives, 2 pr. Sissars,
3 prospecting Glasses, 2 Multiplying Glasses,
3 Triangle Glasses, 5 pr. Spectacles,
1 Burning Glass.

We being informed that Seer-Bullund-Caun [Sarbuland Khān] is nott so civill to Europeans as other Omrahs [*umarā*], and consequently that itt is improper for Mr. Surman to visitt him, unless assured off a reception like that from Meer Jemlah [Mīr Jumlāh] and other Omrahs [*umarā*], withall there being no Absolute necessity for itt. Agreed Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] goe to him to desire a Convoy thro his jurisdiction; We being able to govern our Selves by the reception he meetts with from this haughty Nobleman.

Gyrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān] and his Brother Each of them desiring a Watch, and the things demanded being butt trifles; Agreed that we buy two for them, the Companys being worth nothing."

43. Consultation.

Illaabass [Allahabad], 25th May.

"Having taken leave off Gyrutt Caun [Ghairat Khān] we are now arrived beyond the City, the Cohars [*kahārs*] contentedly Bringing away their Burdens; Butt the Carriers after some disputes, Absolutely refused to proceed, running away from their Carriages. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] remained there, nott beleiving they dared stay behind. The difference between us is this. We offered to pay them the ballance of our Account Demurrage, Creditting them for what received now out off the Kings treasury; which was rejected, they demanding part off what was payable in Agra, as also a full payment off all Demurrage, including 11 days more than we had received from the Government, and which we were Unwilling to comply with before-hand, iff possible to be avoided. Butt they continuing Still obstinate, and we beleiving they were sett on by some of Gyrutt Cauns [Ghairat Khān] Servants, who would detain us longer: We think itt necessary rather to Comply with

some part of their Demands, than loose the opportunity off hastening our passage. The account being made up for 56 days demurrage; Agreed, that Mr. J. Surman pay them 1970 Siccas on Account[1].

Seerhaud finding a very indifferent reception from Seer Bullund Caun [Sarbuland Khān], Agreed that Mr. Surman doe nott visitt him."

44. DIARY.

May 26th	"Arrived at Morow [? Manauri]"[2].
May 27th	"Arrived att Conkarabad [Koh Khirāj][3]. Severall Carriages fell and much wine broke".
May 28th	"Arrived att Shereefabad [Shazādabad or Shazādpur]"[4].
May 29th	"Arrived att Chowbk' Surray. [Chaube ki Sarāe]"[5].
May 30th	"Arrived att Nobusta Mohun. [Sarāe Mohan Selimpur]"[6]
May 31st	"Arrived att Abunagur [Abūnagar]"[7].

[1] The carriers demanded demurrage at the rate of Rs 35 a day for 85 days from the 11th January, when their pay was to begin, to the 5th April Thus the total amount due to them was Rs 2,975. Of this Rs 1,005 had been paid in advance when they were first engaged on October 23rd 1714. Thus a balance of Rs 1,970 was still due to them for demurrage, *i.e.*, practically demurrage for 56 days For the journey itself they were to receive altogether Rs 27,500

[2] Manauri is the second station west of Allahabad on the East Indian Railway

[3] Koh Khirāj, a village on the Ganges in the Kara parganna, 24 miles W N W of Allahabad, in Lat 25°35′ 43″ North, and Long 81° 32′ 42″ East.

[4] Shazādpur is situated in the Kara parganna, 33 miles N W of Allahabad, in Lat 25° 39′ 13 55″ North, and Long 81° 27′ 0 21″ East It was once a flourishing town famous for its stamped cloth and saltpetre, but is now rapidly decaying

[5] Sarāe Chaube was situated about a mile to the west of Ghos or about seven or eight miles to the south-east of Hathganw I owe this identification and the identifications of Nobusta Mohun and of Coorpore, which follow, to the kindness of Mr A Cadell and the Board of Revenue of the North-Western Provinces

[6] Nobusta Mohun, now called Sarāe Mohan Selimpur, is about eight miles to the east of Fathpur or Fattehpur

[7] Abūnagar, a portion of the present town of Fattehpur [Fathpur] said to have been founded by Abu Muḥammad, son of the Nabob Abdu-s-Samad Khān, the faujdar of Sadīrpur Pailāni in Bandelkhand, in the time of Aurangzeb

June 1st.	"Arrived att Coorpore. [Kuṇwarpur]"[1].
June 2nd	"Arrived att Buckewar [Bakewar]"[2].
June 3rd	"Arrived att Coora-Jehaunabad [Kōrah Jahānābād]"[3].
June 5th.	"Arrived att Gottumpore [Ghātampur]"[4].
June 6th.	"Arrived att Mcosanagur. [Mūsānagar]"[5].

45. Consultation.

Moosanagur, June 6th.

"We are now informed that the road between this place and Agra is infested by Mewattys; who plunder whomsoever they can over-power. Our Carriages taking a great length in their March, and the forces we have att present being butt small, when devided, Besides which, a good party off our best Horsemen and Peons have left us. For these reasons, We judge itt proper to be speedily reinforced. Agreed that, iff we can gett a party of 25 or 30 Horse, that will proceed with us to Agra, for five or six hundred rupees they be entertained. A party off 45 peons offering their Service to accompany us to Agra att 3 rupees per man. Agreed that they be entertained."

46. Diary.

June 7th	"Arrived att Bogunce [Bhognipur]".[6]

[1] Coorpur, i.e., Kunwarpur, is about twelve miles from Fathpur along the Kōrah road

[2] Bakewar is 8½ miles east of Kōrah and 13 miles N.W. of Kunwarpur.

[3] On the 4th June a consultation was held at Kōrah Jahanābād to consider a letter from G͟hairat K͟hān ordering the English to wait for him. They resolved to push on to Delhi

[4] Ghātampur, the capital of the parganna of the same name, on the Mogul road, 26 miles from Cawnpore.

[5] Mūsānagar, a town in the Bhognīpur parganna, on the bank of the Jumna near its confluence with the Sengar, 34 miles distant from Cawnpore. It is a regular halting place for pilgrim to Gaya. Here is an ancient temple of Mukta Devi

[6] Bhognipur, the head-quarters of the parganna of the same name, on the Mogul road, 41 miles from Cawnpore. It is said to have been founded by Bhog Chand Kāyath to whom is also ascribed a large reservoir known as the Bhog Sāgar.

June 8th.	"Arrived att Great Secunderah [Sikandra]"[1].
June 9th.	"Arrived att Nahalk' Surray [Nihāl-ki-sarāe]"[2].
June 10th.	"Arrived att Anuntrank' Surray [Anantrām-ki-sarāe]"[3].
June 11th	"Arrived att YekDill k' Surray [Sarāe Ek-dil]"[4].
June 12th	"Arrived att Fuzzelabad [Fāzilābād][7]. Received a Cossid [*qāṣid*] from Culcutta."
June 13th	"Arrived att Moorly [Murlidhar-ki-sarāe][8]. Much rain fell."
June 14th	"Arrived att Rupus-pore [Rupuspūr][9]. Rain."
June 15th.	"Arrived att Ferrozabad [Fīrozābād]"[10].
June 16th	"Arrived att Otmed-pore [Itmādpur][11]. Killed a Rogue who came in the Night."

[1] Sikandra, a town in the Derapur parganna on the Mogul road, 48 miles from Cawnpore, named after its reputed founder, the Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Numerous ruins attest its former greatness

[2] Mr. C S Silberrad I C S has kindly given me the following information about Sarāe Nihāl It is situated in parganna Auraiya, mauza Rāmpur Ramsahai, about 1¼ miles south of Panhar and 5½ miles east of Dalilnagar The tahsildar says it lies on the Sher Shāhi Road Nothing now remains but a temple and a well, but there are local traditions of other buildings

[3] Anantrām-ki-sarāe lies on the road between Auraiya and Bhartua See Indian Atlas Sheet No 68, also the district map of Itawah in the N. W. P. Gazetteer

[4] Sarāe Ekdil, a village in the Etāwa parganna, 6 miles east of Etāwa It is said to have been originally called Rūpa Sarāe, but in 1632 A D a eunuch, named Ekdil Khān, built a new sarai and mosque here, and hence its name was changed It lies a little to the south of the road

[7] Faizul-l-ābād or Fazilabād, says Mr Silberrad, "is situated in *mauza* Malhajani, about 3 to 3½ miles south-east of Jaswantnagar All that is now left is two *pukka* wells and a small *masjid*; no *khera*, nor do the men living have any recollection of more buildings It lies between the present road from Jaswantnagar to Itāwah and the railway, distant about one furlong from each About a quarter of a mile further west is an old disused three-arched bridge over the Sarsa *nadi*...known as the Banjara's Bridge, they being alleged to have built it as also a fine large tank near by. Doubtless the course of the old road was across this bridge

[8] Murlidhar-ki-Sarāe, a hamlet in the Shukohābad parganna of the Manipuri district, 9 miles east of Shukohābād It was founded by Lala Murlidhar Kāyath, who held office under Shāh Jahān Remains of a well and sarāe built by him still survive

[9] Rupuspūr lies three miles beyond Shukohābād See Indian Atlas Sheet No 68

[10] Firozābād, the chief town of the tahsil of Firozābād on the Mogul Road, 26 miles E S E of Agra in Lat 27° 8′-37″ North, and Long 78°-25′-56″ East. It contains the remains of a number of ancient buildings

[11] Itmādpur, the chief town of the Itmādpur tahsil, on the Mogul Road, 12 miles E N E of Agra in Lat 27°-13′-50″ North and Long 78°-14′-22″ East It is named after its founder, I'temād Khān, a eunuch in the service of Akbar, who is buried here.

June 17th "Arrived att Raj: Gott [Rāj ghāṭ] over Against Agra—King George proclaimed. The 30 Mewattys left us."

June 18th. "Arrived att Agra."

June 25th. "Arrived att P: hurrah k' Surray [Farah]"[1].

June 26th. "Arrived att Azzimnagur."

June 27th. "Arrived att Choumowah [Chaumuha]"[2].

Dacca [*dhāka*, i.e., dacoits or robbers] came thrice on our Camp in the Night. We had 5 men wounded; and took 2 off the Rogues, one off which was wounded likewise."

June 28th. "Arrived att Dewtannah [Dotāna]"[3].

June 29th "Arrived beyond Horull [Hoḍul]"[4].

June 30th. "Arrived att Bramunee-kera [Bamnikhera][5]. Took another thief."

July 1st. "Arrived att Pulvull [Palwal]"[6].

July 2nd "Arrived att Boghola [Baghaula]"[7].

July 3rd "Arrived att Feredabad [Farīdābād][8]. Here Mr. Surman and Seerhaud received the Kings Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*]."

July 4th. "Arrived att Barrapoola [Bārapulah][9]. Mr. Philips returned from the City who went to see a house."

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[1] Farah, a village in the Muttra tahsil on the road to Agra, 12 miles south of Muttra in Lat. 27°-19′-13″ North, and Long 77°-48′-12″ East It was founded by Hamīda Begam, the mother of Akbar

[2] Chaumuha, a village in the Chhāta tahsil on the Mogul Road, 12 miles N.W of Muttra in Lat 27°-37′-20″ North and Long. 77°-37′-25″ East Here are the remains of a large masonry sarai said to have been built by the Nabob Asaf Khān, Manager of Sher Shāh

[3] Dotāna is more than eleven miles beyond Chaumuha, see Indian Atlas Sheet No. 68.

[4] Hoḍul is a small town on the trunk road from Muttra to Delhi, 36 miles from Muttra and 54 miles from Delhi Here are the ruins of an old sarāe and baoli, and of a still older masonry tank Close by is a copse of great sanctity called the Pando Ban.

[5] Bamnikhera, apparently Khera sarāe, six miles south of Palwal and twelve miles north of Hoḍul

[6] Palwal, an ancient town, dating traditionally from the times of the Mahābhārata and the Pandawa kingdom of Indraprastha, with a large sarāe and a very early mosque. It is situated in the Gurgaon district on the trunk road, 38 miles from Delhi

[7] Baghaula, now a police road-post in the tahsil of Palwal

[8] Farīdābād is a small town about 16 miles S W. of Delhi. Here are a large mosque built by a certain Shaikh Farīd and the remains of an old sarāe

[9] Bārapulah, the long massive bridge of eleven arches, half a mile south of Humāyun's tomb

July 5th.

"A list wrote of our first offering to the King, to be sent to Caundora."

47. Consultation.

Barrapoola [Bārahpulah], July 5th

"Padree Stephanus having been with us att Feredabad [Farīdābād] and brought Seerpaws [*saropā*] for Mr J. Surman and Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] which were received with the Accustomary Ceremony. Methods are now to be considered, Seeing we are so nigh the Imperiall City, for our publick Enterance. The Padree Assures us off a very handsome reception, through the favour of Caundora [Khān Daurān], withall, that we may use our own time, and manner off proceeding: However, that the quicker dispatch the better, and that we carry somethings Curious and off value for our first offering. Upon Mature consideration, Agreed, That we make our Entry the 7th Inst. That we desire some Munsubdars [*manṣabdārs*, minor nobles] may be sent to receive us creditably, That we may admitted to the Kings presence before we proceed to the house prepared for us, and That for our offering the Following things be prepared Mr. J. Surman delivering 1001 Gold Moors [*muhrs*], and Mr. E. Stephenson. Vizt.

A Table Clock sett with precious Stones

An Unicorns Horn.

A Gold Escrutore bought from Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān]

A Large Lump of Ambergrease

An Aftoa [*āftābah*, a ewer], and Chillumchy [*chilamchī*, a basin] Manila work[1]

The Mapp of the World[2].

Considering some money is necessary to be flung among the Crowd by that means Aggrandizing our first appearance. Agreed that Mr. Surman give out 200 rupees"[3].

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[1] That is, "Manila work," see p 47 in the letter of the 8th July.

[2] See Vol II, Pt 1, § § 811, 827.

[3] On the 14th December, 1711, the Dutch embassy to Bahādur Shāh had entered Lahor in great style, hence the anxiety of the English to "aggrandise their first appearance" Kāmwar Khān says "On the 15th of this month

48. DIARY.

July 6th. "Our Drum and Trumpett permitted to the gate off the New City." [i e., Shāhjahānābād.]

The King visitted; where Mr. Surman and Seerhaud received Seerpaws [*saropās*]. There were 7 Seerpaws ordered, but the King told Caundora [Khān Daurān] the rest should be given att our next appearance. July 7th. Sallabutt Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] Sent us a treat. We mett Caundora [Khān Daurān] att Court, he recd. us very kindly."

49. LETTER 1.[1]

"To the Honble Robert Hedges Esq. Presidt. & Govr. of Fort William Etc. Councill in Bengall.

Honble Sir & Sirs

Our last to your Honr. etc was from Agra the 24th Ult. which place we left the same day, We pass'd the Country of the Jaats (i.e., Jāṭs) with Success not meeting with much trouble except that once in the night rogues Came on our Camp, but being repulsed three times they left us. We arriv'd at Phworedabad [Farīdābād] the 3rd. instant where we were met by Padre Stephanus bringing two Seerpaws [*saropā*], which were receiv'd with the usual ceremony by John Surman and Cojee Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād]. The 4th We arrived at Barrapoola [Bārahpulah], three Course [*kos*] from the City, sending the Padry

(Rajab 1127) [that is, the 16th or 17th July 1715 N S. or the 5th or 6th July O S] it was reported to His Majesty that Mr John Surman and Mr Edward Stephenson, English ambassadors, had arrived near the city. By order of His Majesty, Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur was sent to greet and escort them The said ambassadors were brought by him to the Diwān Khās They presented a letter with many foreign curiosities and rarities From the date of presentation up to the 25th Zū-l-hijjah [*i e*, 21st December 1715 N S or the 10th December O S] these things were presented daily. Mr John Surman received a robe of gold zarbaft of five pieces and a jewelled plume, and the second ambassador a robe and a jewelled dagger"

[1] This letter is to be found in the Madras Public Diary and Consultations for 2 Jan 1712 to 29 Dec. 1715, No. 86, Range 239 in the India Office. The letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St George on Thursday Oct. 6th, 1715, under which date it occurs

before to prepare our Reception, that if possible We might Visit the King the first day even before We went to the house which was got for us accordingly the 7th in the morning We made our entery with very good order, there being sent a Munsubdar [*manṣabdār*] of two thousand Munsub [*manṣab*] with about 200 horse and peons to meet us, bringing likewise two Elephants and Flags about the Middle of the City We were met by the Syud Sallābut Cawn Bahauder [Sayyad Ṣalābat K͟hān], and were by him conducted to the palace where we waited till about 12 a clock till the King came out, before which time We met with Caundora Bahauder [Bahādur] who received us very Civilly assuring us of his protection and good Services. We prepar'd for our first present vizt.—One Thousand and One gold Mohurs, the Table clock set with precious Stones, the Unicorns Horn, the gold Escrutore bought from Zoudy Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn K͟hān], the large peice of Ambergreese the Aftoa [*āftābah*], and Chelumgie [*chilamchī*] Manilha work & the Map of the World, these with the Honble Governrs. Letter were presented every one holding something in his hand as usual John Surman Received a Vest and Culgee [*kalag͟hī*, a turban plume, or ornament] Set with precious Stones and Surhaād a Vest and Cunger [*k͟hanjar*, a scimitar] Set with precious stones likewise. Considering the great pomp and State of the Kings of Indostan, we was very well Receiv'd. On our arrivall at our house We were entertain'd by Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Ṣalābat K͟hān] sufficient both for us and our people, in the evening He visited us again and stay'd about two hours The great favour Caundore [K͟hān Daurān] is in with the King gives us hopes of Success in this undertakeing, He assures us of his protection and says the King has promis'd us great favours. We have Recd. orders first to visit Caundore [K͟hān Daurān], as our Patron after which We shall be order'd to visit the Grand Vizier, and other Omrahs [*umarā*], We would have avoided this if We could fearing to disoblige the Vizier, but finding it not feazable, rather than disoblige one who has been so serviceable, & by whose means We expect to obtain our desires We comply with it[1].

[1] K͟hān Daurān, was only second *Bakhshī* or *Bakhshīu-l-mulk*, and thus inferior in rank to both the vizier and the *amīru-l-umarā*.

This we dispatch by several Conveyances that your Honr. etc may have quick news of our arrival etc.

Inclos'd comes Account Cash Warehouse Account Charges General with Copys of Consultations for the month of May

We are

Honble Sir & Sirs

Your most Obedt. Humble Servts.

JOHN SURMAN.

DILLY OR SHA JEHANNABAD, July the 8th 1715 — EDWD. STEPHENSON".

50. CONSULTATION.

Dilly, July 8th.

"Having visitted his Majesty, the next we ought to meett are his Prime Ministers; The Chief Among which is the Grand Vizier, so ought in puncto to have the first visitt; Butt to perform which, we find an impossibility; Caundora [Khān Daurān] our Patron Expecting that Lott to himself: neither is itt to be avoided without incurring his highest displeasure, We are Assured by our friends that the Vizier is only titular, the Executive power lying Cheifly in the other; So that what we are now about to doe, is Entirely our Interest. For which reason Agreed that we first visitt Caundora; [Khān Daurān] next, the Vizier; and Last off all Tuccurrub Caun [Taqarrub Khān][1]. Mr. Stephenson delivering out the following things as an offering to Each Omrah [*umarā*].

Vizt—

To the Vizier—

1 ps Ambergreace.
1 Watch bot.
1 Europe twizer Case.
1 Japan Standish.
3 Glass Hookers [*ḥuqqahs*].
1 Pallan: Furniture.
2 Patna Cases.

[1] Taqarrub Khān had been *Khānsāmān*, or Lord Steward, since the 11th Feb: 1713 N.S. He died on the 1st April 1716 N.S.

To Caundora [Khān Daurān]—
2 ps Small Japan Trunks.
1 Fine Cutt Hooker [*huqqah*].
1 Sett Glass Pall: Furniture.
2 Small Patna Cases.
1 twizer Case.
1 Silver Watch bot.
1 Globe Fountain bot.

To Tuccurrub Caun [Taqarrub Khān]—
2 China Truncks.
1 Silver Watch bot
3 Hookers [*huqqah*].
2 Patna Cases.
2 Bandizas 1 Big.
& 1 Small.

The King being ready to leave the City, Sallabutt Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] has pressed us to Send him another Present as soon as possible.

Agreed that Mr. E. Stephenson deliver out the following things Vizt.
1 pr. Kamphire Escrutores.
2 pr. Rose Water bottles.
2 Europe Pictures.
A Beettle box and plate.
3 Manila Truncks.
1 Piece Agala wood.
1 Perfuming pott"

51. DIARY.

July 9th	"Visitted Caundora" [Khān Daurān].
July 10th	"Visitted the Grand Vizier. Arrived fruitt from the King to which we paid our obeisance."
July 10th.	"Visited Tuccurrub Caun [Taqarrub Khān], butt he would nott accept our present."

52. CONSULTATION.

"The Kings Cohars [*kahārs*], that came with us, have, since their arrival, here, been very troublesome, there being 16 or 17 days pay due to them; Besides, they make a demand, for the time before their pay was commenced by the Government in Patna, which amounts to a Considerable Summ. The dearness of this place makes them very insolent, and the Great Number of them has severall times putt us under apprehensions off being insulted, going out off our house. We are advised, by our friends, not to lett them Come to an Extremity nor lett them goe, to complain to the King; Butt that itt will be more for our creditt, to make up the buisness att home, and give them their due pay our Selves. Endeavouring afterwards to gett a reimbursement from the Kings Consomma [*Khānsāmān*, or Lord Steward], which iff nott allowed, we must nott look att that Expence as unreasonable, having received so much from the King already. For which reasons, and having Convinced them, that one part off their pretensions is not due; withall offering to pay them the remaining eighteen days, giving seerpaws, [*sarop̄ās*] etc. to their Cheifs with which they are contented; Agreed, that Mr. John Surman pay them 5413 rupees and take a full discharge from them[1].

Dilly, July 11th.

Sallabutt Cauns house nott being Sufficient to accommodate all off us, Agreed that two Houses more be looked out."

53. DIARY.

July 12th. "The King left the City"[2].

54. LETTER II.[3]

[1] They demanded pay altogether for 136 days, beginning on the 26th February The King had given them three months' pay, *i.e*, 90 days, and they had also received an extra sum of Rs. 8,000 which they appear to have reckoned as 28 days' pay Thus 18 days' pay was owing This was, it would seem, paid by the English at the rate of Rs 7-8-0 a month a man, whereas the King's rate was only Rs. 7 a month for each man

[2] According to Mīrzā Muhammad, Farrukhsiyar went first to the Qutb minar, then to Bādlī. and Pānīpat

[3] This letter was read at the same Consultation at Fort St. George as letter I, and is to be foudd in the same volume.

"To the Honble Robt. Hedges Esqr Presidt. & Govr. of Fort William in Bengall.

Honble Sir

We have lately sent Your Honr the good news of our safe arrivall here, the visiting the King and the civil treatment we met with all which will without doubt be very welcome news, We have since visited several Omrahs [*umarā*] as the Vizier Caundora [Khān Daurān], and Tackarubcaun [Taqarrub Khān], where we were received with all the Respect that could be expected and gives me some hopes that all will end well, but what gives me the most encouragement (for I am well acquainted these Nobles, as long as they are expecting to get anything are always complaisant) is that the methods we are at present taking, is consistant and with the advice & Councill of Zoudy Cawn [Ẓeyāu-d-dīn Khān], We visited the Gentleman the 11th Curt and met with the same treatment He has always given to Englishmen with the highest acknowledgements of the favours He has Rec'd from them, that as yet He had never been able to retaliate any of them but hop'd He had now an opportunity of doing Something, he pressingly advis'd us to do nothing without the advice Counsel and order of Caundora [Khān Daurān] (and the main instrument of our affairs) Syed Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān], that the turn of affairs at the Durbarr oblig'd us to it, this which he told us by word of mouth he wrote me when I sent your Hons Letter to him. We are convinced he advises like a friend and are intent on the method, but at the same time very cautious how we any-ways disoblige the Vizier Wee, being very sure that Zoudy Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] was very intimate there, sent and advis'd him when we intended to visit, That He would use his interest for our better Reception, intending to manage the Durbarr by his means, He assur'd us that We might be satisfy'd as to the important Durbarr. The good prospect We have of our affairs makes Coja Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] very good humour'd and at present tractable in hopes He shall obtain his promised Reward, and considering that everything is coming to it's crisis, I take particular care that He remains so, and as much as possible perswade every one with me to do the like

which I fear gains me but little good will, but as passion must now be curb'd except We expect to be laught at, We must be very cercumspect in our actions and Councils.

We have Received Letters from Madrass advising that Sadatulla Cawn [Sa'dutullah Khān][1] had taken the strong Fort of Chingie [Jinji] and that He was for intrenching on the Compas Bounds to rupture. We hope to get orders time enough to go by your August Shipping, God send success to our affairs. I am

Hon^ble^ S^r^
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
JOHN SURMAN.

Dilly, the 17th July 1715.

P.S.—The King for these 6 or 7 days has been out about 7 Course [*kos*] I beleive We must follow in a day or two."

55. CONSULTATION.

"His Majesty nott being yett returned into the City, We esteem it improper to continue any longer out off his presence.

Dilly, July 18th

For which reason, Agreed that the Tents be sent to the Camp, and that M^r^ Surman and Cojah Seerhaud goe thither.

Agreed that Mr. Edward Stephenson deliver out y^e^ following things to be Carried to y^e^ Camp—viz .

Escrutores 3 p^r^ { 2 Large, 1 Small

1 Europe Fountain
1 Toy in Case bottle
1 Box of English Flowers
6 China Toys—Horsemen
1 Sword, Silver Handle
1 Gold Watch
2 Manila trunks—Silver hinges
2 Amber Canisters

[1] This, says Mr. Irvine, must be Muhammad Sa'id, Sa'datullah Khān, Bahādur, who died on the 8th October, 1732, while *faujdār* of the two Karnātaks, aged about 80 years, He was of the tribe of Nawāyat (see Wilks, I, 226, 242).

	12 Looking Glasses	
	5 Clocks	
460 ps. Broad Cloth ordinary		Green 240 Redd 160 Yellow 60
300 ps. Do	Aurora	
Fire-Armes—Vizt	1 Gun Double-barrell	
	12 Fuzees [fusils].	
	12 Horse Pistolls	
	12 Pockett Do	
	12 Musketoons	
China Ware 19 Jarrs		4 Large 3 Middling 12 Small
Japan Ware 1 Patch box		
	4 Nests	2 large Boxes 2 small Do
	4 Do	2 Large Dressing boxes 2 Small Dressing boxes
	18 Bandizas	6 Large 5 Round 7 Small
	1 Box	.. Gold hinges
	20 Perings	
	10 Cupps and Saucers	10 [large] 6 small
	18 Cupps and Covers	
	10 Cupps	
	18 Dishes	
	3 Plates	
	1 Small dressing Box	
Cuttlary Ware 49 Scissars		40 Plain 9 Silver handles

	108 Pennives	8 Kittle beaters 6 Agatt 4 Amber 2 Claspt 13 Ivory tipt with Silver 75 Plain Ivory
	9 Fine Cases	qt Knives, Scissars etc.
	50 Knives	18 Silver handles 6 Agatt do 14 Ivory de 12 Red-wood
	12 Razors.	
Pockett books	10	
Pencills	69	

56. LETTER III.[1]

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. President and Governour of Fort William Etc. Councill in Bengall."

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The last we wrote Your Honour Etc. was dated July 8 giving an Account of our safe arrivall at this place and our visiting the King. We are at present but little able to give your Honour Etc. an Account of our Negotiation, the King going out the 11th to a place about 5 Course [*kos*] from hence[2] to Worship and with him all the Omrahs [*uamrā*], so that little business can be expected till he comes back again, his Stay being longer than we imagined we intend to make him a visit abroad that there may be no occasion of any disgust.

Since our former we visited the Vizier and Tuckurub Caun [Taqarrub Khān] which was attended with a great many Civilitys and promises of assistance in our affairs: likewise we paid our Respects to Ẓoudy Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] whose

[1] This letter was read at the same Consultation at Fort St. George as Letter I, and is to be found in the same volume

Farrukhsīyar on this occasion went to the Qutab minār. See Diary 53

treatment was equall to the Respect he has always Shewn to Englishmen, assured us our affairs were in a very good state and that the design we had of carrying on our business by means of Caundora [Khān Daurān] was the only adviseable Way to hope for Success, for although the Vizier and Tuckurub Caun [Taqarrub Khān] were in the highest Posts, and our business in a great measure would inevitably fall into their hands yet for a Patron or one to have the intire management of the business, none was so fit or could do so much as Caundora [Khān Daurān]. We were well informed that he was very intimate with the Vizier for which Reason we particularly desired his Freindship, in the management of that Durbarr he assured us We might rest satisfied on that side, a few days, we hope, will bring the King to his Palace again when we shall enter upon action and hope every thing will answer the expectations we have conceived from so good a beginning.

The Padre in some of his former Letters to us while on our way Copies of which we have Sent your Honour Etc. did advise that he had been obliged to give writing under his hand and Seal to the Mutsuddies [*mutaṣadis*, officials, clerks] at Court, for a Certain Summ of money and goods on our Arrivall and finishing the business. We have examined into that matter and are informed, that 'tis to Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur], and Syud Sallabut Caun Behauder [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān Bahadur] for twenty-five thousand Rupees, We intend to take up this obligation as invalid, and make as good agreements as we can our Selves, the main reason of our doing this is that the Padre may have no more opportunitys of giving Notes under his hand for any thing Relating to our business.

We have frequently complained to your Honour &c^a^ and wrote of the invalidity of the Letters of Creditt sent us, and of what ill consequence it might be in case we should be disappointed of mony when we came to Action, it being the main Spring of our Negotiation Your Honour &c^a^ did advise that you were seeking a remedy by sending fresh Letters which as yet we have not received, as for those already sent, We have met with nothing but denials, Lollbeharry [Lālvihāri] refusing to let us have any money but on very unreasonable conditions, the other Joogurpursaud [Jugalprasād] remains in Agra, we

did not enquire for him there, expecting to have found him in this place, but now perceiving our mistake, we have wrote to him but with little hopes of Success We hope your Honour &c[as] first Letters will remedy this disappointment.

Enclosed comes Account Cash Warehouse Account Charges General and Copys of Consultations for the month of June, likewise Copys of what Letters lately received from Bombay and Fort St. George.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

COJAH SURHAUD [Khwājah Sarhād] assent
HUGH BARKER Sec
DILLY,
July 20th 1715.

57. DIARY.

July 22nd — "A Currant report of the King designs for Lahore."

July 25th. — "The Doctor ordered by the King to give phisick to Tuccurrub Caun [Taqarrub Khān]"[1].

58. CONSULTATION.

"For these severall days there has been a rumour, that the King designs to proceed to Lahore. We are now very well satisfied that he will Shortly decamp from this place, Seerhaud [Sarhād] being att the delivery off the last goods, that were presented, had the opportunity, off hearing the disputes,

The King's Camp. Shalamar [Shālimār] July 27th

[1] Taqarrub Khān had sworn falsely to Zu-l-fiqār Khān that his life should be spared It is said by Wārid that the hand with which he took the false oath on the Qurān began at once to wither. No remedies availed and he died on the 9th Rabi II, 1128, i.e., 1st April 1716 N.S i.e., X 21st March O.S.

between the King, Vizier, and Caundora [Khān Daurān]: wherein the King was possitively resolved to proceed, notwithstanding the improper Season—a Sufficient reason to the Contrary. He now gives out that he designs to proceed to Pony-punt [Pānipat] and no farther. We are off opinion our best policy is to be always near the King, and in Case he does proceed to Lahore, that we might be Even then negotiating our buisness. Agreed that we first return to the City, and bring out whatever things we can. There being no absolute necessity for the King to See the Broad Cloth, and many other things; Agreed, that we give notes to Mr. E. Stephenson according to which he may deliver goods in the City.

According to Custom The Kings Chubdars [*chobdārs*] &c. Servants must receive their reward. The following Summs being noted down by Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān]. Agreed that Mr. J. Şurman pay them vizt.

To the Kings Chubd 16½ share ..	Sicc	1237
Doorkeepers		450
To other Chubdars		50
To Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] Chubd and Kismutg		300
		2037"

59. DIARY.

July 28th "Mrs. Woodvill[1] came here."

60. CONSULTATION.

Dilly. July 29th.

"Mrs. Woodvill having travelled thus far, to complain against her husband, as she proffesses to us; and being now in a very mean and poor Condition: We judge itt proper to take some notice off her nott outt off an apprehension off any Efforts she can make to the prejudice off our Honourable Masters; but because we,

[1] The name of Captain Woodville occurs frequently in the records. See *ante* Vols. I and II, Pt I. This is the first we hear of his family trobules.

are unwilling to have Even her name mentioned; withall being assured Captain Woodvill is Sufficiently responsable for any disbursement on her Account, Agreed that we allow her Subsistance whilst she is here, endeavouring to procure her return to Bengall; That Mr. Surman for the present give her 100 rupees, and Mr. Stephenson Supply her with something to make Cloths."

61. DIARY.

July 30th. "The Doctor called to the Camp by Caundora [Khān Daurān], we Suppose on the Kings account."

August 2nd. "The Kings Camp removed to Sunputt [Sonpat][1]".

62. LETTER IV[2].

"To the Honble Edward Harrison Esq
President and Governour of Fort St.
George &ca Councill

Honourable Sir and Sirs

A duplicate of your Honours &cas dated January 15th Originally of the 29th came to hand June the 29th, 20 Coarce [*kos*] distant from Dilly. We deferred giving answer at that time in hopes to obtain an order on Sadatulla Cawn to attend it, but the removall of his Majesty from the City hindred us from commencing any business, so can only give your Honour &ca. an Account how things Stand at present.

The 2nd of July when we arrived within 12 Coarce [*kos*] of the City there came two Serpaws [*sar-o-pās*] from his Majesty

[1] Sonpat or Sunipat, a town of great antiquity situated 28 miles north of Delhi on the old imperial road. It is surrounded by trees and lies on the side of a small hill formed out of the ruins of old buildings.

[2] This letter is taken from the Madras Public Diary and Consultations for 2 Jan 1712 to 29th Decr. 1715, No. 86, Range 239 in the India Office. The letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St. George on Monday Oct. 31st 1715, under which date it occurs.

which were received with the usual Ceremoney, when we arrived within 3 Coarce [*kos*] we prepared for our Entry; desiring if possible for the Credit of our Negotiation, that we might first pay obeisance to his Majesty and then proceed to the house provided for us which being concerted the 6th there came a Caun [Khān] of 2000 munsub [*manṣab*] with 200 horse, peons, elephants and flags to conduct us to the City, when we arrived at the Outward Gate we were met by Syud Sallabut Cawn Bahauder [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, Bahadur] who carried us to the Kings palace. We carried with us some raritys which we presented, Cawndora [Khān Daurān] introducing us to the Royall Presence. Considering the great State with the Adoration paid to these Eastern Monarchs, we were as well Received as any European has been for these many years. We received Serpaws [*sar-o-pas*]. There being a Culgee [*kalghī*][1] set with Jewells given to John Surman and a Cunger [*khanjar*][2] set with Jewells to Surhaud [Sarhād] likewise, when we came to our house we were by the Kings order entertained by Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān, Bahadur] with a dinner sufficient for us and all our people three days after the King left the City under pretence of visiting a Sacred place about 6 Coarce [*kos*] from thence, but the true Reason (we are of opinion) was to clear himself of a kind of confinement which he thought he suffered whilst in the Fort, afterwards on the petition of his Omrahs [*umarā*][3] to return to this City the time of the Rains being improper for travelling; He shewed himself resolved to proceed either to Lahore or Azmere [Ajmer]. Neither could all the Arguments used avert his intended journey. This startled us considering with how great trouble and risque we had brought the present thus farr, and how to carry it on at this time of the year we were something at a Stand. At last we concluded to give the gross of our present in notwithstanding the King was abroad. But in delivering some of the fine Clocks they were ordered to be returned and kept in good order till he came back to the City, he having now determined

[1] *Kalghī*, an aigrette
[2] *Khanjar*, a short sword, the origin of our word "hanger"
[3] *Umarā*, plural of Amir, a noble

only to visit a sacred place about 40 Coarce [*kos*] from Dilly; After which he would return. This Stop'd our presenting the remainder of our goods. But We concluded that it was necessary to attend his Majesty in this Journey. We now continue in the Camp leaving Mr. Stephenson and Mr. Philips to take care of what goods remain in the City and in Case that the King should proceed farther that they concert measures to bring the goods after us. We are in this interval preparing petitions to be delivered to his Majesty hoping We shall do something for our Honourable masters that has not been yet obtained. The patronage and management of this Negotiation is in the hands of the greatest favourite at Court Caundora [Khān Daurān]; and under him Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] withall We being no ways unmindfull of our old friend Zoudy Cawn [Zeyā-ud-dīn Khān] without whose advice we enter upon nothing, but he being at present in a low Station is not able to obtain the Kings Ear, however we are satisfied that whatever lyes in his power he do's, and will assist us but particularly in the Viziers Durbarr.

Hossein Ali-Cawn Bahauder Omeerall Omrah [Husain 'Ali Khān Bahādur, Amiru-l-umarā] is lately gone into the Decan Country having the entire Command of all that part of this Kingdom,[1] your Honour &ca have doubtles heard how great he had made himself even to vie with the Commands of his Imperial Majesty as lately appeared in the disputes between himself and Meer Jemlah [Mir Jumla] whilst at Court, when he obliged his antagonist contrary to the Kings desires to remove from Court to Patna where by the interest of Omeerall Omrah [Amīr-ul-umārā] and his own mismanagement he is quite Ruined, Wherefore we humbly Recomend a very good correspondance with Omeerall Omrah [Amīr-ul-umārā] otherwise whatever We shall be able to do here will be off very little service before him.

We have in a very particular manner observed what your Honour &cas have wrote concerning the priviledges and accordingly have Specified them in our petitions As for the Towns we cannot yet advise your Honour &ca what we are Capable

[1] Husain 'Ali Khān started on the 29th Rabī 'I 1127 *i e*, the 3rd April 1715 N S. or the 23rd March O.S

of doing till such time we find how the Court is disposed, however our endeavours Shall not be wanting in the minutest particular and above all for Diu [Divī] Island.

Concerning Sadatulla Cawns [Sa'ādatullah K͟hān][1] taking the Fort of Chingie [Jinjī] We have examined and find that as soon as the news arrived at Court that Rajah Suropsing [Swarup Singh] was dead orders were sent from hence to his son to deliver up that Government to Sadatulla Cawn [Sa'ādatullah K͟hān] he having orders likewise to receive it which the Rajah not thinking fit to comply with said Fort was taken from him by force. This Victory in the Kings behalf has very much pleased this Court. We are endeavouring to get an order concerning the business of Fort St. Davids to be sent to your Honour &c^a^ by the ships from Bengall.

We hope his Majesty will not exceed his intended Journey but Return to the City: when we shall advise your Honour &c^a^ of whatever occurs.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
John Surman
Cojah Seerhaud, Assenting

Hugh Barker, Sec^ry^
Sun-put [Sonpat] 20 Coarce [*kos*] from Dilly
August 4th 1715.

63. DIARY.

August 6th. "We paid our obeisance to the King on the road."

August 7th. "The Kings camp removed to Somaulk' Surray[2]."

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[1] 'Saādatullah K͟hān, Muhammad Sa'īd, entitled Sa'ādatullah K͟hān Bahādur, was of the tribe of Nawāyat. He died on the 19th Rabī 'II, 1145, i e, the 8th October 1732 N S while *faujdar* of both Karnātaks, aged about 80 lunar years. See *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* His biography is given in *Ma'asirut l-umarā*, II, 513, and in Wilks, I, 226, 242.

[2] Simbhālka ki sarāe, a road post ten miles from Pānipat.

August 8th "The Kings Camp arrived att Pony-punt[1]."

August 10th. "The King having worshiped att Pony-punt, [Panipat] he returned to Somalk' Surray [Simbhālka Sarāi]."

August 11th. "The Kings Camp come to Ginnore. Salamed to the King."

August 13th. "The Kings Camp come to Sunputt [Sonpat] Salamed to the King."

August 14th. "The King arrived att Mehir Purwurk' Surray [Mihrparwar ki Sarāi]—Much rain."

August 15th "The King arrived in Sha-Jehaunabad att a lucky minute pitched on by his Brachmin."

"The Doctor being sent for last night by the King; went this morning with Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād]: where

August 16th he Examined two Swellings in his Groin; and has now taken his Majesty under his hands, by Gods blessing, to recover a very much impaired constitution.

The Omrahs [*umarā*] having refused to receive any Present, without a particular order from the King: We have thought fitt to petition for Caundora, and Tuccurub Caun [Khān Daurān, Taqarrub Khān]: Butt the Vizier having asked for himself, Agreed that Mr. E. Stephenson prepare the following things, which we have now determined to present him[2]."

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[1] Pānipat, a municipal town and administrative head quarters of a *tahsil* of the same name, situated in lat. 29° 23′ N and long. 77° 1′ 10″ E on the Grand Trunk Road, 53 miles north of Delhi, a place of great antiquity, lying on a high mound composed of the debris of centuries The principal ancient building is the *dargāh* of Qalandar Sāhib Bū'Alī Qalandar, a Moslem saint, who was born in H 602 and died in H. 724 aged 122 years. The tomb of Ibrāhīm Lodi, which stood here, was destroyed to make the Grand Trunk Road Pānipat has witnessed at least three decisive Indian battles in 1526, in 1556, and in 1761.

[2] A long list of presents is given, also lists of presents to "Syud Sallabut Caun Behaunder, Auphrasiob Caun, Mozuffer Caun, Caundora's Bror., Sha-Abbas Caun, Deputy-Droga of the Gooslecanna, Deebydass, Mushreif to the Goosle-Canna."

These persons are Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur, Afrasyāb Khan, Mazaffar Khān, Khān Daurān's brother, Shāhbaz Khān, deputy *daroghah* (superintendent) of the *ghusulkhānā*. (bathroom *i.e.*, privy audience chamber), Debi Das *mushrif* (chief clerk) to the *ghusulkhānā* With Ṣalābat Khān we are already acquainted Suhrāb, known as Mīrzā Ajmeri, entitled Afrasyāb Khān, Rustam Jang, nephew of Rashīd Khān had been Farrukhsiyār's instructor in wrestling and archery. He was third *bakshi*. He died at Delhi on 21 August 1718 Khwājah Muhammad Muqīm, Muzāffar Khān, was killed in the battle with Nādir Shāh on 15 Zu-l-qa'dah 1151, *i e*, 23 February, 1739, N S.

64. Consultation.

Dilly, August 16th

"Having drawn up our Generall petition to his Majesty in the Persian Language, as near as possible to the instructions given us by the Honourable President and Councill off Fort William, The Honourable Governour and Councill of Fort St. George, and his Excellency the Generall and Councill of Bombay. Agreed, that itt be translated into English; and After perusall, to be Enter'd in our next consultation· withall, that in the Interim Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] shows this petition to Syud Sallabutt Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] and Zeaudy Caun [Zeāu-d-dīn Khān] for their Approvall."

65. Diary.

August 23rd.

"The Doctor lives with Tuccurub Caun [Taqarrub Khān]."

66 Consultation

Dilly, August 28th.

"The Kings birthday approaching, when will be great rejoicings. This time will be very proper to deliver in part off what remains off our present."

A TRANSLATE OFF A GENERALL PETITION, TO THE KING, IN ORDER TO OUR OBTAINING A PHIRMAUND.

Particulars as follows.

1. ,'The English Company pay no Custom, in Indostan, Suratt Excepted. In ye Subaships off Beharr, Bengall, and Orixa They are Custom-Free, According to ye Phirmaund [*farmān*] off ye Great Aurungzēbe [Aurangzeb], The Nishauns [*nishāns*] off ye deceased Azzimuth Sha,[1] Azzimtarra,[2] and Sha Suja,[3] ye Husbul Hoocum [*hasbu-l-hukum*] under Assid Cauns

[1] Azzimuth Shā is 'Azīmu-sh-shān, second surviving son of Shāh 'Ālam, Bāhādur Shāh, son and successor of 'Ālamgir Aurangzeb

[2] Azzimtara is Ā'zim Shāh, second son of 'Ālamgir Aurangzeb

[3] Sha Suja is Sultān Shujā, the second son of Shāhjahān

[Asad Khān's][1] Seal, and former Sunnods and orders; In Stead off which, to this day, they pay yearly 3000 rupees, into the treasury of Hugly, as a Peeshcash [*peshkash*].

2. In Calcutta y^e^ Company have a Settlement D: Calcutta, Govindpore, and Sootaluty (*dihi* Kalikaṭa, Govindpur and Sūtānuṭī); which 3 towns being near y^e^ Factory, His deceased Highness Azzimuth Sha ['Azīmu-sh-shān] gave to be rented by y^e^ Company. The rent off these 3 towns abovementioned, according to y^e^ Kings books, amounts to 1194.14, and Something more; which is yearly paid into y^e^ Treasury. We humbly Petition, that y^e^ renting off Severall other towns, that are near y^e^ above towns; and whose rent amounts to near or about 800 rupees may be granted to y^e^ Company, That the Rent shall be yearly, and duely paid into the Kings treasury by us; and that particular care shall be taken, to make them flourish. We farther petition, that y^e^ town of Culcutta may have y^e^ great name of Furruckbunder [Farrukh-bandar][2] given itt, and that the towns above, which are in other Pergunnas [*parganas*], to made 1 Pergunna, having y^e^ name given itt off Furruckabad [Farrukhābad],[2a] which will be to y^e^ great Honour off Your humble petitioners.

3. In Bengall, Beharr, and Orixa The Company has Severall Settlements, and In Severall places. We are in hopes, by your Majestys Favour, to Settle others. We humbly petition, that in any place, where a Settlement Shall be made, 40 Beaguers [*bīgahs*] off Ground be granted, by Your Majesty, to build a house on. and in Patna where for y^e^ Long time the Companys Settlement has been, they have rented y^e^ house, We are in hopes, by Your Majestys Favour, to have y^e^ house of y^e^ deceased M: Moduffer [Muhammad Muzaffar], (that belongs to y^e^ King), granted for our residence.

4. The Companys Factorys are in many places very much Pestered with Phirmaush [*farmāish*],[3] and Impositions Laid on

[1] Asad Khan was 'Ālamgir Aurangzeb's *wazīr* from about 1682 to the end of the reign (1707) He died at a great age on the 25th Jamadi II, 1128 H. (15th June 1716 N.S.). His name was Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, and he was a Persian of the Qazāmānlū tribe.

[2, 2a] *Farrukh-bandar*, "Fortunate Port," *Farrukhābād*, "Fortunate Foundation," in compliment to the Emperor Farrukhsīyar.

[3] *Farmāish*, requisitions to furnish goods for the Emperor or high officials

time. We humbly petition, that Your Majesty will be pleased to order, that in all places ye Company be Excepted from Phirmaush, Phowsdarry, Jemidarry [*faujdārī*, *zamindārī*],[1] and all other impositions; and that they receive no hindrance on that Account, Their Factors Etca Servants going on in their buisness, with Satisfaction and Content

5. In all Subaships [*sūbāhs*] ye Companys Gomastoes [*gumāshtah*] goe backward and forward to buy and Sell, iff any thing should be stolen, which God forbid: We humbly petition, that Your Majesty will be pleased to give Strict orders, that ye Jemidars [*zamīndārs*] etca off those places, thoroughly Assist to have due punishment inflicted on those rogues, and that the Gods be returned to their right owners.

6. In Every Subaship [*sūbah*] ye Duans [*dīwāns*] demand a Sight off ye Originall Phirmaund [*farmān*]; as likewise that we receive a Particular Sunnod [*sanad*] under ye Seals off ye Suba [*subāhdār*] and Duan [*dīwān*] off that province. Itt is impossible to Shew ye Originall grant in all places, for which reason, We humbly petition, that Your Majesty will order, that A Copy from ye Originall Under ye Cozzys [*qāzī's*] Seal be Sufficient, and off Force, and that no one demand a Sight off ye Originall. Farther, that we shall receive no Sunnod [*sanad*] from ye Suba [*sūbāhdār*] or Duan [*dīwān*],—they acting pursuant to ye great Phirmaund [*farmān*] your Majesty has granted.

7. In former days the Mint was Settled att Dacca and Rojamoll [Rājmahal], where the Companys Gold and Silver was Coined. The Mint att present is in Muxodavad [Maqsūdābād]. We humbly petition through ye favour of Your Majesty, that according to former Custom ye Companys Gold and Silver may be coined in ye Present mint, without any lett or Molestation,—that ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddī*] off ye mint make no uncustomary demands, taking ye Mintage only, and that in ye Season when other Merchants goods are coining, The Company may have 3 days in ye week allowed to them, which will be a Particular Favour.

8. Att the time of buying goods in Hugly; Notes are Given

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[1] *Faujdārī*, fees or dues collected by the *Faujdar* or Police Magistrate. *Zamīndarī*, revenue demand from the land.

by yᵉ Droga [*daroghāh*] and Mushreif [*mushrif*]; which are so tedious, that the Season of yᵉ Year passes, before they can be obtained; and is a great imposition on yᵉ Companys Factors. We humbly petition, that Your Majesty will be pleased to order, that yᵉ Drogas [*daroghāh*] permission off yᵉ Abovementioned Port be Sufficient to bring goods from Merchants Houses to yᵉ Factory: by which means, we shall be capable to dispatch our Ships att yᵉ Proper Season.

9. There was a Mint settled Att Madrass in yᵉ reign off Aurungzebe: The money Coin'd att which place, receives So much pr Cent discompt, before taken into yᵉ treasury off any Subaship [*sūbah*], Altho' off yᵉ Same fineness, and Goodness with Rupees made in Suratt, which is a considerable detriment to yᵉ Company. We hope from Your Majestys Favour, to have an order on all yᵉ Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddi*] off Every Subaship [*sūbah*] in India, forbidding that imposition for yᵉ future; that Said money pass like that coined att Suratt and other places; and that they be received by yᵉ Mutsuddys [*mutasaddis*] into yᵉ treasury like all other Siccas [*sikkah*, coined money].

10. Itt sometimes happening att Sea, by reason off Stormes and Misfortunes that Ships are obliged to take Port, and are now and then racked. The Governours of these Ports frequently Seize without any reason on Such Ships and Cargoes. Ships Likewise missing their port, and being obliged to harbour in Chittagong, Ganjam, Nanoudbundee Etcᵃ. The Governours off these places also have Seized both on Ships and Cargoes; Sometimes demanding a quarter part Salvage, all which is to yᵉ irreparable loss off yᵉ Owners. Thro' yᵉ Great favour off Your imperiall Majesty We humbly petition, that Strict orders may be given to yᵉ Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddī*] off all Subaships [*sūbah*] in Indostan, that they nowise offer to trouble, or molest us on this Account; butt on yᵉ Contrary Assist Such Ships as much as lyes in their Power. So that being under the Shadow off Your Majesty; We may pray for length off Years and Success in all Your undertakings, whilst with satisfaction our trade is improved, to yᵉ Great Encrease off Your Majestys Customs.

11. There is protection given by Your Majestys Officers to Severall off yᵉ Companys Servants and those from whom debts and Accounts are due; So that neither money nor Accounts

are procurable. We for this reason, Humbly Petition, that Your Majesty would please to order, that whoever so deserts ye Company be sent back to ye Cheif off ye Factory.

12. In ye Subaship [*sūbah*] off Golconda [Gulkhandah or Ḥaidarābād], all ye Cornatuck [Karnātak] Country, The Upper and lower Country Metchlipatam [Machhlīpatanam] and Vizagapatam [Vizagapatanam], in all which ports and places ye Company trade Custom free. Att Madrass where they pay Yearly ye Sum off 1200 Pagodas into ye Kings treasury: We humbly petition that a fresh grant be given according to former Custom.

13. The Company have a Settlement Att ye Port off Vizagapatam [Vizagapatanam]; for which, and four towns more Vizt. Moza [*mauza*] Perwanna, Wooda Punda, Woodall Terra, and Maalcapour being near ye Companys Settlement, 4862 Rupees is duely paid into ye treasury off Sitta Cole,[1] being ye Yearly rent in ye Kings books Amongst these, Moza Perwanna and Wooda Ponda 2 towns which pay 900 Rupees Yearly rent, Butt are too far from ye Factory, We humbly desire may be returned, and that these towns Vizt. Alipour Dundepou, Jogarass and Cuperah may be granted in their Stead; paying what is their Yearly rent in ye Kings books, Into ye Treasury

14 Divy Island near Metchlipatam [Machhlipatanam] being in ye hands off a rebell Poligar [*pāligar*, or local chief] Obiram [Abhi Rām], who Sometimes acts as a Subject; and as often otherwise. This Rajah, by reason off ye desolateness off ye place, Severall times has and does Even now invite us to goe, Settle and inhabitt there, that ye Island may flourish. His disobedience to Your Majesty, and ye ill name that might accrew to us, from our accepting his offer, caused us always to refuse him The Annuall rent off this Island is 7000 Pagodas. We humbly petition, that ye renting off this Island may be granted to ye Company, that they make Settlements there, to ye great improvement off ye Island, and by ye Currency off Trade, and inhabiting off Merchants, much Encrease the Customs off Metchlipatam [Machhlīpatanam]. for which we

[1] Sitta Cole, for Sikākul or Chicacole, a town in the Gunjām district, Lat 18 18", long 83 58" (Thornton's "Gazetter," p 201)

will Yearly pay y^e Accustomed rent into y^e Kings Treasury.

15. Momud Caum Bucks, Assid Caun and Zulphacor Caun,[1] att the warr of Chingee[2] for Assistance in sending all sorts off Ammunition, Cannon and provision to y^e Kings Camp, After gaining y^e Victory, As a reward for our Services, According to Aurungzebes [Aurangzeb's] order, gave y^e Company 5 Towns, Trivitore etc^a which remained in our Possession many Years. Itt is now 3 Years that y^e Kings Officers have Seized on them; Since y^e reign off Your Imperiall Majesty. What we Assisted against Your Competitor, and acted in Hugly, pursuant to Your Majestys order, in helping Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] with all manner of ammunition, provisions etc^a doubtless Your Majesty is not unacquainted with. For which reason, we humbly petition, that those towns may be regranted to us."

16. In y^e war off Chingee [Jinjī] y^e Rebells from y^e. Port off Cudalore Sent Provisions and Ammunition to y^e Assistance off Chingee [Jinjī]: for which reason att that Instant, we bought the town off Cudalore, & some others round itt, with y^e permission off y^e Imperiall Court: that, by our meanes, the way might be Stoped; and no Provisions arrive from thence, to their Assistance. At present Severall Jemidars [*zamindārs*] etc^a round that place are troubling and molesting us: Which obliges us humbly to petition Your Imperiall Majesty, to give orders to y^e Officers and Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] off that Province to Assist us, by which meanes we may be able to punish those who give us any molestation.

17. Att the Port off Suratt, The Company in y^e time off Shah-Jehaun [Shah Jahan] paid 2 p^r Cent Custom, In y^e reign off Aurungzebe [Aurangzeb] 3½ p^r Cent. Vizt. 2 Custom, and 1½ Gigea. In y^e reign of Behauder Sha [Bahadur Shah] 2½ p^r Cent was ordered, which Custom is paid att present. We have hopes from Your Imperiall Favour, that as we Enjoy y^e prividge off Custom-free in other Ports, We may have y^e Same

[1] Muhammad Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of the Emperor 'Ālamgir Aurangzeb, Asād Khān, the *wazir*, and Zu-fiqar Khan, son of Asād Khan, the Mīr Bakhshī, or second noble, next in rank to the *wazir*

[2] Jinji, a town now in the South Arcot district, lat 12° 16', long 79° 27' was besieged by the Moguls from 1690 and taken in 1694. See also Yule and Burnell, p. 801.

privilidge att Suratt; and that according to ye Custom off Bengall, a Certain Yearly Peeshcash [*peshkash*] may be paid instead off Custom. The reasons are, that for these 20 Years Elapsed, There have been new impositions laid on, and injustice done us Yearly, by ye Kings Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] The goods whose value is 1 rupee they prize att 2, and off which they take Custom with that Severity, that a duty is laid on ye very Cloths and ornaments Wherefore helpless we have been obliged for these three Years to withdraw that Factory, which cannot be resettled without some peculiar marks off Your Majestys favour, Such as have been Shown to Bengall etca.

18. Our residence for many years in Suratt has been in one off the Kings houses, which we have rented, att present this house is gone to ruine,, and untill Such time as Your Majesty is pleased to give itt us, we are uncapable to repair itt. We humbly petition a grant off itt, from Your Imperiall Majesty; as also 400 Beaguers [*bigahs*] off Ground without ye City, whereon we may make a house & Garden that so We may Satisfactoryly Encrease our trade, bless our Benefactor, and wish him a long and Glorious reign.

19. In the Subaships [*sūbahs*] off Bengall, Behar, and Orixa with others in ye Kingdom off Indostan; The Company have Subordinate Factorys where English Men reside There are likewise some places, & Aurungs [*aurang*][1] where Englishmen cannot be sent· for which reason, we make agreements with ye Merchants off ye Country, giving impress money; with which they goe to ye Aurungs [*aurang*] & buy Goods. In some places ye Kings Officers molest & hinder ye buying off Such goods. Wherefore we humbly petition, that Pursuant to ye Dustick [*dastak*] off ye Cheif off that Factory, the Merchants may be permitted to trade as Englishmen, and Enjoy their privilidges without any hinderance."

67. Letter V.[2]

[1] *Aurang*, literally, "a throne," a small factory or trading-place, where orders to manufacture goods are given, delivery is taken of the goods and payment is made

[2] This letter is to be found in the Madras Public Diary and Consultations for 1715 to 1719 No 87 Range 239, in the India Office It was read at a Consultation at Fort St George on Monday the 9th January, 1716

"To the Honble Edward Harrison Esq.
Presd[t] and Governour of Fort S[t]. George & Councill

Honble Sir, &c[a]

We wrote your Hon[r] &c[a] the 4th instant the Originall of which was sent by the Returning peons, and the Copy to Bengall design'd to be forwarded by Shipping. This is Chiefly to Convey the enclos'd Letters, one from Syud Sallabutt Cawn Behauder [Ṣalābat Khān Bāhādur], another from Zoudy Cawn [Zīāu-d-dīn Khān] to your Hon[rs] &c[a] as likewise recommendatory Letters from each to Sudutulla Cawn [Sa'datullah Khān] with whom Zeoudy Cawn [Zīāu-d-dīn Khān] pretends he has a particular friendship and acquaintance so that he expects a great deal of notice will be taken of his Letter.

We have advices here that Hossenally Cawn [Ḥusain 'Alī Khān] and Dowd Cawn [Dāūd Khān] are come to a Rupture in Barrampore [Burhānpur][1] so that it's likely a battle will ensue, the letter having engaged many of the Decan Country to his party: it's Whisper'd at this Court that this is a design laid to involve Hosseinally Cawn [Ḥusain 'Alī Khān] in trouble, and retrench his granduer, which of late has not been very pleasing.

The King proceeding no further than Pony-Punt [Pānipat], return'd to the City the 15th but being a little disorder'd in his health has not made any publick appearance so that we have not had any oppertunity to deliver the remaining part of our Present or Commence our Negociation which shall be done by the first.

We are
Honble S[r] and S[rs]
Your most Obedient humble Servants
John Surman
Edw[d] Stephenson."

Coja Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], Assenting
Hugh Barker, Sec[ry]
Delhi August y[e] 31st 1715.

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[1] Burhānpur, a town on the Tapti river, Lat. 21° 18′ Long. 76° 20′.

68. Consultation.

"The Portugueze, Antonio Parero, that Accompany'd Mrs. Woodvill hither, being willing to depart, on conditions that he may be reimbursed what money, he has Expended on her account. In Consideration that itt is worth a triviall sum to be free from his noise in this Place, Agreed that he have 100 rupees given him, taking his discharge from any further demands."

September 5th

69. Consultation.

"The King designing to appear abroad, att the Close of the Fast of Ramzan [Ramzān][1] when there will be a generall discharge of his Artillery; We are informed this will be a proper time to present our Ordinance. Agreed that the 8 which remain, and 2 Glass Sconces with painted frames be presented on that day.

Dilly, September 15th

Agreed that the Vizier be visitted this Festivall, and that the following things be prepared as an offering—Vizt

1 Looking-Glassbox—bot

1 China Garden

1 Large Telescope

1 Silver beetle-box and plate

Itt being proper at this time to present the Kings Eunuchs Agreed that Mr. Edward Stephenson prepare the following things—Vizt.

Durbar Caun [Darbār Khān][2]—

Broad Cloth Ordy	6	pieces
Aurora	2	,,
Fine Scarlett	1	,,
Imbost	1	,,
	10	

[1] Ramazān, 1127H., fell between 30 August and 28 September, 1715, N S, i e, 19 August and 17 September O S

[2] Darbār Khān was Nazir or head of the Eunuchs

Perpettuannoes Fine redd 1
Ord. Green 1
—
2

Callimancoes Imbost 2
Flowered 1
—
3

Brocade .. .. .. 4 Guzz.
Velvett . .. 5 d°

Ps. Goods .. 5 Cossaes
5 Soosys [*Sūsī*][1]
5 Chucklas [*chakla*][1]
5 Charconnas [Chāakhānah][1].
—
20 ps.

Camolett .. Hair .. 10 Guzz.
Swords & Sword blades .. 2
Fire Armes .. Fuzzee [-fusil P] 1
Horse Pist: 2
Pocket d° 2
Blunderbuss 1
—
6

Cutlary Ware .. 5 Knives
5 Penknives
4 Scissars
5 Pencills
—
19

[1] *Susi* is a striped, coarse cloth (Platts, 699) *Chaklā* is a cloth made of silk and cotton (Id. 436) *Chārkhānah* is cloth or muslin with chequers or squares (Id. 417).

Rarities .. 5 Triang: Glasses
5 Mult: d°
10 Spectacles
1 Spying Glass
1 Teloscope
—
22

Glass Ware .. 5 Hookers [*Ḥuqqahs*]
20 Chillums [*chilam*]
5 Coffee Cups
2 Rose Water bottles
1 Bowle plate & Cover
2 Flower potts
—
35

Patna Cases .. 2
Lacqu^d Ware 10 Cupps and Covers
Broad Cloth white . 7 Guzz
Liquor .. 1 Case off Brandy
1 Carboy[1] off Pers. drams
Persian Looking Glasses .. 2

ETMAUD CAUN [I'timād Khān]--

			p^s
Broad Cloth	Ord^y Red & Green	.	6
	Aurora .		2
	Fine Redds		2
	Imbost ..	.	1
			11

Perpetuannoes ..	Fine	.	2
	Ordinary	..	1
			3

[1] Carboy, a large glass bottle (Yule and Burnell, p 125).

Callimancoes Imb[t]	& flow[d] ..	2
Velvett ..	red & Green..	10 Guzz.
Brocade	..	5 d[o]
		p[s]
Bengall Goods ..	Soosys ..	10
	Cossas ..	10
	Charconnas ..	10
	Hummums[1] ..	10
		40 p[s]
Camoletts-Hair	..	10 Guz.
Fire Armes .	Fuzees ..	2
	Pistolls-Horse	2
	d[o] Pockett	2
	Blunderbuss ..	1
		7
Swords & Sword Blades	..	2
Cutlary Ware ..	Knives ..	7
	Penknives ..	7
	Scissars ..	4
	A twizar Case	1
		19
Rarities	Pencills ..	5
	Triang: Glasses	5
	Mul[t].: d[o]. ..	5
	Spying Glass..	1
	Teloscopes .	1
		17

[1] 'Hummum' stands perhaps for *hamām ki lungi* bath towel, or waist cloth.

Toys	..	Wax Images	2
		Persia looking Glass	1
			—
			3
Flint Ware	..	Hookers [*huqqahs*]	5
		Chillums [*chilams*]	10
		Coffee Cupps	10
		Pallank[n]. Furn.	1
		Bowls, Plates, and Covers	3
		Rose Water bottles	2
		Flower Potts	2
		Oftoa & Chil [*aftābah* and *chilamchī*]	1
			—
			34

Patna Case	1
Leather Carpett	1
Jappan Ware	10 Cupps & Covers
Tea	5 S[r]

ETBAR CAUN [I'tibār Khān]—

Broad Cloth		Ord[y] Green	3 ps	
		Auroia	2	10 Guz
		Fine	1	10
		Imbost		10
Perpettuannoes	..	Fine	15 Guz	
		Ord	10 d[o]	
			——	
			25 Guz	
			——	
Callimancoes	.	Imbost	10 Guz	
		Flower'd	15 d[o]	
			——	
			25 Guz	
			——	

Looking Glasses small	..	3	
Sword Blades ..	..	2	
Fire Armes	..	1	Fuzee [fusil]
		1	Pistoll
		—	
Flint Ware ..	.	4	Hookers [*huqqahs*]
		4	Chillums [*chilams*]
		2	Pigdnnys [*pikdanis*]
		2	Cutlases
		—	
		12	

Patna Case for to putt otter (*'itr*) in	1
Rarities—Spying Glasses—Great & small	4
Mult: and Mag: Glasses	3
Triangle Glasses	3
	—
	10
Jappan Cupps and Covers	10

Cutlary Ware ..	Knives	4
	Penknives	4
	Scissars	4
		—
		12

Velvetts	.. Green & Blue		..	3 Guz.
Persia Silk	.		..	1 p^s^.
Camoletts	.. Worsted			10 Guz.
Bengall Goods	.. Soosies [*sūsi*]	1 p^s^.		
	Cossaes	6 d^o^.		
		—		
		10		

JEWAR CAUN [Jawāhir Khān][1]

Broad Cloth Ordinary .	Green .	3 p^s.
	Aurora ..	1
	Imbost	1
	Fine Scarlett	1
		6 p^s.
Perpettuannoes .	Fine ..	15 Guz.
	Ord^y	10 d^o.
		25
Callimancoes	Imbost	10 Guz.
	Flower'd	15 d^o.
		25
Fire Armes	2 Horse Pistolls	
	1 Fuzee (*fusil* ?)	
	1 Blunderbuss	
	4	
Swords and Sword blades	..	2
Rarities	2 Mult. Glasses	
	4 Triang. d^o	
	1 Tellescope	
	10 Spectacles	
	17	
Flint Ware	5 Hookers [*huqqahs*]	
	5 Chillums [*chilam*]	
	2 Pigdannys [*pīkdān*]	
	1 Bowle Plate Etc^a	
	2 Cullases [*kalas*, a jar or pitcher]	
	6 Coffee Cupps	
	21	

[1] Juwāhir Khān, was *dāroghah* of the Juwāhir-Khānah, or jewel House. He died on the 7th Shawal 1131H *i e*, 22 August, 1719 N S

Jappan Cupps and Covers	..	..	10
Patna Case	..	..	1
Cutlary Ware ..	Knives	4	
	Penknives	4	
	Scissars	4	
		12	

Considering that our five best Clocks want some covering to hitt the Humour off this Country, Agreed that Mr. E. Stephenson deliver out Persia Zeerbafts [*zarbāfts*][1] for this use, which in our opinion cannot be disposed of to greater advantage."

70. DIARY.

"Presented the King with some Wax Images. Caundora [Khān Daurān] refuses our present Affirming to take nothing from any body."

September 21st

"The rains returned immoderately with Storms which very much Stops Publick Durbars."

September 25th.

71. CONSULTATION.

"Mr. William Hamilton having brot. in an Account Amountg to 486. 12.—the bulk off which is for Medicines bot. for the Use of the King and Tuccurub Caun [Taqarrub Khān]: Agreed, that itt be paid, & inserted in Hugh Barker's Accots.

Dilly, 25th September.

[1] *Zarbāft*, brocade, gold tissue, cloth of gold (Platts, 615)

[2] Here come lists of presents to the Chief Mutasadi and three eunuchs belonging to the vizier, to "Raja Ruttunchund [Ratn Chand], Coja Monsure Caun [Khojah Manṣūr Khān], Coj. Dowadar Caun [Khojah Du'ādār Khān], Coj Fuzzeut Pezeer Caun [Khojah Fasāḥt Khān] " Also presents to "Dowst-Ali-Caun [Dost 'Alī Khān] Droga [*dāroghah*] of Saum-Saum-Doulas [Samsamud-d-daulah's] Top-Canna [*topkhānah*, artillery], to Syud Omer [Sayyad 'Umr] and to the Under-Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] "

Rajah Ratn Chand, chief official of the *wazīr*, was an Agarwal Baniya (*Rājāh ki baradāri*, sub-caste) and a native of Jansāṭh (Muzaffarnagar district). He was executed by Muḥammad Shāh on the 12th November, 1270 N.S. Khojahs Manṣūr Khān, Du'ādār Khān, and Fasīhāt Khān must have been eunuchs, as the word Khojah denotes Sam Samud-d-daulah is another title of Khān Daurān [Khwājah A'sim], the second Bakhshī

72. DIARY.

September 27th "Presented Mons^r^. Martins Children 11 ps. off different Cloth by Messrs. Surman & Stephenson."

September 30th "Tuccurrub Caun [Taqarrub Khān] having gratyfyd our Doctor has left him off, and taken to others, butt his distemper is off such a nature, as to be judged incurable."

October 3rd "Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] and the Doctor sent for by the Kings Mother, where his Majestys Indisposition was debated Caundora [Khān Daurān] tho' our Present was carried on his gate, ordered itt to be Bro^t^ again to our house".[1]

73. LETTER VI.[2]

'To the Honble Rob^t^ Hedges Esq.
Presid^r^. & Gov^r^. of Fort William Etc. Councill in Bengall.

Honble S^r^. Etc^a^.

Our last to your Hon^r^. Etc^a^. was August the 31^st^ Since which we have not receiv'd any Letters from your Hon^r^. Etc^a^. We then advis'd that we had prepar'd our General Petition we design'd to have presented it the first good Opportunity, but his Majesty's indisposition continuing and M^r^. Hamilton having him under care it has been thought advisable by our friends as well as our Selves to deferr delivering it till such time as it Shall please God that his Majesty in some measure return to his former State of health which advice we intend to follow considering that whilst he is in so much pain it can be but a very indifferent opportunity to beg favours of him. The first distemper the Doctor took him in hand for was swellings in his Groin which thanks be to God he is in a fair way of curing,

[1] Orme observes, "But it should seem by the record that he afterwards did receive the present"

[2] This letter was read at the same consultation as Letter V, and is to be found in the same volume

but within these few days last past he has been taken with a Violent pain in his posteriors which is likely to come to Fistula, it hinders his Majestie from coming out, so naturally puts a Stop to all manner of business wherefore must have patience perforce.

Your Honr. Etca. will have heard of the Death of Down Cawn[1] in Ducan Slain in a battle with Omeeral Omrah [Amīru-l-umarā] this has given a great deal of uneasiness to this Court it being quite otherwise laid by the King and his favourites and that which was design'd for Omeerall Omrah's [Amīru-l-umarā's] Ruin has proved a great addition to his former Glorys. The King at first seem'd to resent it to his Brother who not taking it so patiently as he expected, he has alter'd his Resolution to Sending Hossenally Cawn [Ḥusain 'Alī Khān'] i.e. the Amīru-l-umarā] a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pa*] Etca marks of favour; We have advis'd in our Letters to the Govr. & Councill of Madrass to have particular Regard to the Freindship of that Great Omrah otherwise whatever we shall be able to do here for that Coast will be of little service unless back'd with his favour.

We have drawn bills of Exchange payable to Mr. James Williamson for Rups Sicca five thousand five hundred, being for the Value Received here: We desire your Honr. Etca. will give due payment. Gololchund Saw's [Gulālchand Sāha's] Gomastah [*gumāshtah*] here has made a heavy Complaint that Your Honr. Etca. have accepted the bills but not paid them desiring we would write very pressingly to Your Honrs Etca that they may be paid out of hand.

Inclos'd comes Account Cash Warehouse Account Charges General, and Copys of Consultations for the month of August We are,

Honble Sr. & Srs
Your Most Obedt. humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWd STEPHENSON."

Delhy Octor ye 6th 1715.

[1] Dāūd Khān was killed on the 8th Shabān 1127, which is the 6th September 1715 N S and the 26th August O.S. The news reached Delhi on the 8th October N S or the 27th September O S

74. DIARY.

October 7th

"The Kings Mother sent Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] and our Doctor Victualls."

October 13th.

"The price off wheat altered from 12 to 6 Seer p[r] Rupee."

October 19th.

"The King visitted in the Duan Coss [*diwan khās*]. Mons[r]. Martin has sided with the Kings Doctor against M[r]. Hamilton."

75. CONSULTATION.

Dilly, October 22nd.

"Receiving information that the Vizier drinks, We have though[t] itt convenient to make him a present off the following Liquors.

Syrash (Shīrāz) 3 Chests
Brandy 2 Cases
Canary 4 dozen
Persia Drams 1 Carboy
Fine D[o]. 1 Dozen"

76. DIARY.

"The King in a fair way off recovery. He was pleased to tell Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] that he would distinguish him and all of us after a very Eminent Manner."

77. CONSULTATION.

Dilly, October 28th

"Our General Petition, after Examination and amendment, being returned us by Tuccurub Caun [Taqarrub Khān]; we have compared itt with the former draught, and find the Sence the same, tho much shorter: which is owing to the comprehensiveness off the Persian Language. His reason for this alteration is, that prolixity being tedious to his Imperial Majesty, he had render'd itt more com-

pact and fitt for our Service. The Greatest Amendment we can discern, is Changing the Name off Calcutta from Furruck-bunder [Farrukh-bandar], to Furruckabad [Farrukhābād]: That the mention off Port might nott cause his Majesty to send officers thither, or raise a tax on it: And indeed we are now sensible itt is better Laid Aside. Itt is the Generall advice off our Friends, to deffer the delivery off our petition till his Majesty is perfectly recovered; when particular marks off his favour are to be Expected: Wherefore Agreed, that itt be deferr'd till the King Washes"[1].

78. DIARY.

November 7th

"Our Doctor coming from the Fort att night, his head was Cutt with A Pebble: off which the King being informed; he ordered Search to be made for the Offender; and gave the Doctor people for his future protection".

79. LETTER VII[2]

"To the Honble Edward Harrison Esq.
President and Governour of Fort St. George Etca Councill.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The Kings indisposition has much impeeded the forwarding of our Negociation; So that want of matter has occasioned our Long Silence: We hope his Majesty is at present in a fair way of Recovery, which if it pleases God to grant, it must of necessity Redound to the Honour and Credit of our Nation, he having been under the Sole care of our Surgeon who has administred much to his Majesties Satisfaction.

Without doubt the whole Decan Country has Rung with the Engagement and Victory of Omeerall Omrah [Amīru-l-umarā] over Dowd Cawn [Dāūd Khān], the glory that has accru'd to that great man on this Account has been a particular

[1] This refers to the *ghusul-i-shifa*, the first bathing after sickness.
[2] This letter was read at the same consultation as Letters V and VI and is to be found in the same volume.

mortification to this Court; but however we find he is little disturb'd at it, being as it were too unweildy to be check'd, by any Court Favourite, or even the King himself. Being pretty well assured of this before, was the Reason of advising your Honour Etc[a] in our formers to keep a good Correspondance with him: But that your Honour Etc[a] might have some grounds to go upon we thought we Could not doe better then gain a Recommendatory Letter to his Brother the Vizier in favour of the Chormandell Factorys, the Letter with it's copy for perusall comes inclos'd. We hope this Letter will have the design'd Effect, it being wrote very candidly as we esteem it in our behalf

The cure of his Majesty's indisposition will we hope be effected in a few days when we shall go on with our business, and we hope with Success, in the mean time,

We are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Yours most Obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

COJAH SLERHAUD
(Khwajah Sarhad) Assent[g]
HUGH BARKER, Sec[ry]
Delhy, Nov[r] the 12[th] 1715.

80. CONSULTATION

November 15th

"His Imperiall Majesty being perfectly recovered, we have received Orders from Caundora [Khān Daurān], to deliver in the remainder off our present; promising that afterwards he will forward our petition[1]".

81. DIARY.

"Caundora [Khān Daurān] has promised when the King rewards his physicians, that Mons. Martin shall not be made

[1] Here comes an other list of presents

November 17th. Equall with Mr. Hamilton, A thing as itt is meer justice, so itt is a Signall honour to our Nation."

November 20th "All plaisters being taken away the King Washed himself."

"Presented the King on the way with the Concave Glass and two Sconces, This being the Eed Ounarbaun [*Idu-l-qurbān*] or Abrahams Sacrifice[1]. November 27th.

"This day Doctor Hamilton, as a reward for his Services, received from the King, An Elephant, Horse, Seerpaw, Culgee [*sar-o-pā*, *kalghī*] richly sett with Jewells, and two Large Diamond Rings, with 5000 rupees in ready Cash. His Majesty farther ordered Buttons for a whole Suit off Cloths, to be made off Gold, and Sett with Diamonds and Rubys, As also the handles off all his small instruments off Solid Gold. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] having been very Assistant during the Kings illness as interpreter, Received A Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], and Elephant." November 30th

"Great preparation made for the Kings Marriage with the Rany [*rānī*, the Princess of Jodhpur] that Arrived sometime Agoe"[2]. December 1st.

82. Consultation.

"Agreed that Mr. Edward Stephenson prepare the 13 Cases cornished with Gold, and 20 plain, filled with the fine Oile mentioned in a former Consultation, and an addition off the Nergissa Otter, (*'itr*) & Hungary water; to be presented on his Majestys next publick rejoicing." Dilly, December 7th

[1] This feast fell on the 10th Zū-l-hijjah, *i e*, the 6th or 7th December N S or the 26th or 27th November O S.

[2] According to Kāmwar Khān this was on the 14th Z-ū-l-hijjah which is the 10th or 11th December N S. and the 29th or 30th November O.S. The lady arrived in Delhi on the 23rd September, 1715, N S

83. LETTER VIII.[1]

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq^r^.
President and Governour of Fort William,
Etc^a^ Councill in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote your Honour Etc^a^ the 8th to the 12^th^ and 16^th^ Ultimo, the latter part of which carried the welcome news of the Kings recovery, as a clear demonstration to the world he washed himself the 23rd and accordingly received the Congratulations of the whole Court. As a Reward for M^r^. Hamilton care and success the King was pleased the 30^th^ to give him in Publick, Viz^t.^ a Culge [*kālghi*, aigrette] set with precious Stones two Diamond Rings, an Elephant, Horse and five thousand Rupees, besides ordering at the same time all his small instruments to be made in Gold, with Gold Buttons for Coat, Wais Coat and Breeches sett with Jewels The same day Cojee Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] received an Elephant and Vest as a reward for his attendance on this occasion Mons^r^. Martin was to have received a reward the same day with M^r^. Hamilton but considering it was not for the Credit of our Nation to have any joyn'd with him especially since he had no hand in the business We by the means of Cawndora [Khān Daurān] got his reward to be deferred till three days afterward when he had a Vest Elephant and a thousand rupees, a favour purely owing to his Majesties generosity, and because he was his Servant.

We have esteemed this as a particular happiness, and hope it will prove Ominous to the Success of our affairs, i being the only thing that detained us hitherto from delivering our General Petition, so pursuant to orders We received from Cawndora [Khān Daurān] the Kings Recovery was Succeeded by the giving in the remainder of our Present (reserving a small part only till the ceremony of his marriage should be over and then delivered our Petition to Cawndora [Khān Daurān

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St George on Monday the 12th March, 1716, and is to be found under this date in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No. 87, Range 239, in the India Office

by his means to be introduced to his Majesty, Syud Sallibut Cawn [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān], who has all along managed our affairs, under Cawndora [Khān Daurān], being at that instant and sometime before much indisposed we were obliged to carry it our Selves withall taking care to have his recommendation Annexed: Since the delivery Cojee Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] has been frequently with Cawndora [Khān Daurān] to remind him of introducing it to his Majesty, but has always been informed no business can go forward till the Solemnization of the Kings wedding is over when he has promised a speedy dispatch. All Offices have been shut up for some days and all business in the Kingdome must naturally subside to this approaching ceremony that We cannot Repine at the delay.

Surman having paid into the Companys Cash the sum of two thousand Siccaes, We have given him bill on Your Honour Etc[a] for said Sum which we hope will be duely honoured.

Inclosed comes Account Cash, Warehouse Account, Charges Generall and Copy of Consultations for the month October, which we wish safe to your hands.

We advised your Honour Etc[a] in our Last concerning the Merchants Goods and the difficulty we had to dispose of them, not knowing what hurry We may be in, We agreed to sell by all oppertunitys that offer, and not any Longer wait a greater Markett: In pursuance to which Resolution, We having lately had an offer for the amount of ten thousand Rupees at thirty and thirty-five per Cent profitt, We have contracted for it, but as yet not having received the money, We can't give your Honour Etc[a] a further Account till the next.

The Rasboots [Rājputs] are likely to receive a great Honour by this Wedding, the King having consented to all their desires in Respect to the ceremonials[1] and this evening go's on his Throne[2] attended by his whole nobility on foot, to receive his spouse; All the Fort and Street through which he passes, will

[1] Khushhal Chand, in the *Nādiru-z-Zamānī*, tells us that the ceremonies observed were mixture of Musulman and Hindu usages The guests were offered a drink made of rose water, sugar, and opium, which the Rajputs pressed on the Musulmans, but which some refused to take.

[2] The 'throne' was the *takht-i-rawān*, literally 'moving throne' a kind of sedan chair.

be made resplended with innumerable Lights, and in fine, all will appear as Glorious as the Riches of Indostan and two months indefatigable Labour can provide.

We are,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servants

JOHN SURMAN

EDWARD STEPHENSON

COJEE SEERHAUD [Khwājah Sarhad] assent
HUGH BARKER Secr
Delhi, December 7th 1715.

84. DIARY.

December 8th — "Yesterday the King was married to the Great Raja Adjetsein daughter. [Rājā Ajit Singh of Jodhpur]"[1].

December 12th. — "The First day of the Kings rejoicing."

December 13th — "The Second Do"

December 14th — "The Third Do"

December 15th — "The Fourth Do when all was Concluded. Mrs Woodvill Dyed, and her body sent to Agra"[2].

December 20th — "Caundora [Khān Daurān] having presented our Generall Petition to his Majesty, Itt was returned him, the King said, the books should be Examined, After which, itt might be brot Again, with an Account from thence Annexed to Each Article."

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[1] This is misleading The Emperor's maternal uncle had been sent to fetch the bride on the 15th May On the 25th Ramazan which was the 23rd or 24th September, 1715 N S, or the 12th or 13th September O S She was admitted to the faith of Islam Four days afterwards she was married to Farrukhsiyar by Shriyat Khān Qazi that is on the 27th or 28th September N S. and the 16th or 17th September O S The Persian writers, however, Kāmwar Khan and Mirza Muhammad, confirm the statement that great festivities took place at the bringing home of the bride, which they date the 21st Zu-l-hijjah which is the 17th or 18th December N S and the 6th or 7th December O S The Sikh Guru Banda was captured on the same day

[2] Orme notes, "There was an English woman named Mrs. Woodville who had travelled from Surat to Delhi to complain to the Great Mogul of her husband The embassy found her almost naked and clothed her. She died some time at Delhi"

"This day Mr. Hamilton received a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], and 1000 rupees from the Kings Mother, Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] and Monsieur Martin received each a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] and 500 rupees."

December 28th.

85. CONSULTATION.

"Agreed that Broad Cloth, to the Amount off 2000 Rs., be given to the Mutsuddys [*mutasaddis*] off the Consommanee (*Khānsāmān*, or Lord Steward), in Case they goe on to prize the Present as we desire; and not otherwise."

December 30th.

86. DIARY.

"A Copy off Sir William Norris's Proceedings, As also an Account off the late Dutch Embassy taken from the Kings books."

December 31st.

"The King visitted by Mr. Surman &ca Two Nights Agoe Meer Jemlah [Mīr Jumlah] arrived In a Dooly having run Away from his Mutinous Army"[1].

January 8th, 1715/16

87. LETTER IX.[2]

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq
President and Governor of Fort William Etca Councill.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

Our last to your Honour Etca was dated the 23rd December advising of a Bill of Exchange drawn by us on Your Honour Etca for five thousand Rupees Sicca payable to Mr. James

[1] This is confirmed by Mirza Muhammad who gives as the date the 22nd Muharram, which is the 17th or 18th January N.S. and the 6th or 7th O.S

[2] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort. St George on Thursday 29th March, 1716, and is to be found under the date in the Madras Public Diary and Consultations for 1715 to 1719, No 87, Range 239 in the India Office.

Williamson or order, which Bill we hope will meet with due Honour.

As to the course of our Negotiations, We can give but a very Slender Account of their progress, for altho' our affairs are fallen into the Patronage of one of the most able men in this Court to dispatch them if He pleases, yet his dilatory method of proceeding is such as must make us pursue our designs with patience, for the present our Petition is returned after having passed the examination of the books, the next that follows will be the Kings signing after which We shall take care to give your Honour Etc^a a particular Account of it.

We have lately been surprized with the Kings designs of departing from this place, but God be thanked, it's delayed for some days at least, We shall make the best use we can of this delay, if possible to effect our business before his departure, but which we cannot rely on.

Two nights ago Meer Jumlah [Mīr Jumlah] arrived in this place attended by Bahauder Dill Cawn [Bahādur Dil Khān], Amonut Cawn [Amānat Khān], Enom Cawn Etc[a] in all about eight or ten Horsemen much to the Surprize of this city, for 'tis but a best supposed that he has made an Elopement from his own Camp for fear of his Soldiers who mutinied for pay, the particulars of all which we are not as yet acquainted with, nor what reception he is like to meet with from his majesty.

Edward Stephenson has paid into the Honourable Companys Cash at severall times the sum of Rupees eight thousand eight hundred and three, eight anna's being for the sale of part of the Merchants goods consign'd to us, not having a sufficient quantity of Bengall goods to mix with the Presents of the ministers &c[a] Officers, we have taken of those belonging to the Merchants what were necessary, concluding that those goods would be of more service than the ready mony, your Honour Etc[a] will perceive how they have been disposed of by the particulars of every present, set down on this Consultation Book, the whole amount of which is Rupees two thousand five hundred twenty one, being fifty per Cent advance upon Invoice as per agreement at their delivery, the account of which comes inclosed by which your Honour Etc[a] will perceive the ballance due to them is Rupees Current nine thousand One hundred and eight, three

anna's. The Rupees which are now paid in per Bills of Exchange on your Honour Etc[a] are AllumGhirry [Ālamgīrī] between which and these Current Rupees we have now charged three per Cent, so that your Honour Etc[a] will deduct so much upon the payment.

Mr. Edward Stephenson having paid into the Honourable Company Cash the value of four thousand Rupees, we have given him a Bill of Exchange on your Honour Etc[a] payable to M[r]. Thomas Falconer for Four thousand Sicca's which we hope will be honoured with due payment.

Herewith comes Account Cash, Warehouse Account Copys of Consultations and charges General for the month of November.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most Obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

COJAH SEERHAUD [Khwajah Sarhād], Assent[s]
HUGH BARKER, Sec[ry]
Dilly, January 8th 1715/16.

88. THE FIRST PETITION EXAMINED

1715/6

JAN. 8TH ARTICLE IN Y[e] DILLY PETITION	THE ACCOUNT FROM Y[e] KINGS BOOKS
1st. Article ..	Nothing mentioned.
2nd do .	The particulars off these towns are nott in y[e] books, neither were they given from the King. They have a Perwanna under Izzut Cauns ['Izzat Khān's] Seal for them persuant to Azzimuth Sha's ['Azīmu-sh-Shān's] Nishaun [nishān]: By which itt appears 3 Towns Culcutta &c.[a] In y[e] purgunna of Ammerdabad, and Subaship of Bengall have been

		bought from Munoredutt [Manohar Datta], & other Jemidars [*zamindārs*] and a Bill off Sale obtained, when y^e^ Daun [*dīwān*] off Bengall gave them possession. As for y^e^ Other Towns we have nott their names by which to render An Account. The Duan [*dīwān*] may be wrote to, That An Account be sent to Court.
3rd.	do ..	They have had no ground given them, Nor is itt Customary to permitt them to build houses off Brick. Itt is Customary to hire houses att y^e^ Good will off y^e^ Droga [*dāroghah*]. Now they desire ground. What the King pleases ?
		Our Duanny [*dīwānī*] books have no Account Off Houses. The Consommany [*khānsāmānī*] have y^e^ particulars
4th	do	By his Majestys particular favour Every body is Excused.
5th	do ..	Itt is Customary that when goods are lost, and found Again; That y^e^ Phowsdar [*faujdār*] Examine, & look out for y^e^ Owner: After which that he return said Goods, taking a receipt under y^e^ Cozzys [*qāzīs*] Seal.
6th	do ..	Nothing mentioned
7th	do ..	Itt is Customary That y^e^ Kings Own Money be first Coined, and then that off those Merchants whoever gives in their Silver. Itt is not usuall to regulate y^e^ Days from Court.

8th	do	..	Itt is Customary, for y[e] Custom-house Officers to inspect y[e] Goods; and att y[e] lading, give notes under their Seals; that att y[e] landing of Said Goods the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] resident may by such Cocketts cleare them. With-out all which, itt will be a Considerable loss.
9th	do	..	The Suratt Rupees &c.[a] are fine for which there is no batta deducted. Those Att Madrass are harder for which reason they are refused In the Treasury.
10th	do	.	Itt is Customary, when A ship is wrack'd y[e] Owner proved before y[e] Phowsdar [*faujdār*] that itt be returned: An Account being taken under y[e] Cozzys [*qāzis*] Seal.
11th	do	..	Itt is Customary According to y[e]. Suratt records; Upon Enquiry, to return Any Debtor, or Servant to y[e] Chief off y[e] Factory, In Case off Elopment.
12th	do	..	Nothing Mentioned.
13th	do	..	Nothing Mentioned
14th	do	..	Nothing Mentioned.
15th	do	..	Nothing Mentioned.
16th	do	..	Nothing Mentioned.
17th	do	..	In y[e] reign off Sha-Jehaun [Shāh Jahān] (1627-1658) & Aurungzebe [Aurangzēb] (1658-1707) The English In y[e] Subaship off Amadabad [Aḥmadābād Gujrāt] paid 3½ p[r]. Cent Custom. They now desire in lieu off that, to pay 3000 rs. As in Hugly.—To rereceive this Peescash [*peshkash*] (as In Bengall) instead off Custom

will be a Great loss. Amadabad [Aḥmadābād] Cambay & Suratt they pay 3½ p^r cent.

18th Article .. The Suratt books Contain, that Since then Arrival in y^e City they have lived In hired houses; which has been Accustomed to this day & for which they pay rent As formerly. As for y^e 400 Beagues [*bīghas*] off Ground which they att present desire, The Govern^r off that place may be Ordered to Examine Into. & Advise Concerning itt.

19th do .. Nothing mentioned "

89 DIARY.

"Meer Jemla [Mir Jumlah] continues in the City but in private The Persian Embassadour[1] After he had received A Vest from the King off Persia; Came to Court and deliver'd with his own hand A letter from his Master to the King off Indostan "

January 13th

90. CONSULTATION[2]

"We have lately had intimation, that Caundoran [Khān Daurān's] Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] Expected farther presents, As also that Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Salābat Khān] was nott perfectly satisfied with y^e Padrees Note, that was given before

Dilly, January 21st 171¾

[1] The Persian Ambassador's name appears to have been Mir Murtazzā, He came from Sultan Husain Mirzā, the last Safawi King, and his first reception was on the 19th Rajab 1126 H (30th July, 1714 N S) It was the first embassy to India, since the 10th year of Ālamgīr (1668-9) See also notices of this ambassador in the Calcutta Consultation Books for 1712, 1713, *Early Annals*, Vol II, Pt I, §§ 621, 622, 623, 626, 663, 712, 723, 725, 737.

[2] In the Consultation of the 21st January mention is made of "a Grey Turkey Horse being bo't for 450 Rs. and House Rent for 3 Houses Rs 40-3-3 "

our Arrivall. We have thought itt our Safest way, on Account off these Secrett heartburnings, which hinder y[e] Currency off our business to come to An Enclarissment and which we have effected by y[e] meanes off Kirperam [Kripā Rām], Syud Sallabut Cauns [Sayyad Salābat K͟hān's] Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*]—Agreed that Padree Stephanus's Note be taken up; & that Another, Exclusive off what given formerly to Caundora [K͟hān Daurān], Syud Sallabat Caun [Sayyad Salābat K͟hān], Or their Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*], be given for 144 p[s]. Green Broad-Cloth (the supposed Amount here 17000 r[s].) and 10,000 r[s]. In ready Cash. Agreed likewise, that the Note in A particular manner specify, That this is nott to be fulfill'd till we have first Obtained Grants to all the nineteen Articles in our Petition; and that no farther demands be made on us from Caundoras [K͟hān Daurān's] people, Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat K͟hān] himself being Obliged to take Away all Obstructions, that may happen on that Account. Sallabut Caun [Salābat K͟hān] has Accepted this Offer. Butt att y[e] Close off y[e] Agreement Kirperam [Kripā Rām] lett us know, that he Expected something Apart, We believe shall be obliged so some Addition for him; but as Yett that is nott Concerted."

91. Consultation.

"The King having signed our Generall Petition, which is now returned, Agreed the particulars be hereunto Annexed. Agreed that those articles which are nott answered to our Satisfaction, be made into. A new petition with some Additional Articles nott before presented."

Dilly, Jan. 27th

92. The First Petition Answered

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	SIGNED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
Art. 1. Concerning the Phirmaund [*farmāns*] for Bengal	Omitted.

Art. 2. For the Culcutta Towns	The Towns that were formerly given to confirmed And the Other Towns petitioned for, Iff the Ground is bought with the Owners consent Ordered that the Duan [*Diwān*] be wrote to, that they may have them
Art. 3. For 40 Beagues [*bigas*] For the Patna House	Ordered According to Custom, Granted them to live in, and repair In Case they build no fortifications.
Art. 4. Concerning Phirmaush[1]	All forgiven
Art. 5. Concerning Robbery	Ordered that particular Orders be given About itt
Art 6. Concerning the Duans [*diwāns*] Demand for Original Sunnods [*sanads*] &cs	Ordered that the Copy off the Phirmaund [*farmān*] Suffice
Art. 7. Concerning Muxodavad Mint[2]	Write to the Duan [*Diwān*], that in Case it is not Against the Kings Interest, to be granted.
ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	SIGNED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
Art 8 Concerning the buying Goods in Hugly	Iff nott Against the Kings intrest; Ordered to be granted.
Art 9. Madrass Mint .	Granted iff the rupees are off the same weight and finances as Surat. To Commence from the 5th Year[3].
Art 10 Concerning Ships In destress.	Considering they have Factorys, and trade over the whole king-

[1] *Farmāish*, that is a requisition for goods made by local Officers to be sent to the Court

[2] That is the mint at Maqsudābād or Murshidābād.

[3] Farrukhsivar's fifth year began on 1 Rabiʿ I, 1128H, 23 February, 1716, N S.

Article	Subject	Answer
		dom, and have by particular kingly favours, obtained Phirmands [*farmāns*] Custom free; Ordered that they be Assisted on All such Occasions.
Art. 11.	Concerning the Companys Debtors &ca.	Granted.
Art. 12.	Concerning Madrass	Granted According to former Custom.
Art. 13.	For Vizagapatane [Vizagapatanam]	Lett the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] off that place be wrote to. That in Case itt is not against the Kings Int'rest and the Welfare of the Inhabitants, that their petition be granted.
Art. 14.	For Divy Island	Write to the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddī*] there to send an Account off itt.
Art. 15.	Concerning Madrass 5 Towns	The five Towns granted formerly to the English to be given Again.
Art. 16	Concerning Cudalore &ca.	Granted.
Art. 17.	Concerning The Surat Trade	That a yearly peescash [*peshkash*] be calculated, and paid, According to the Amount of the English Customs Att Suratt, In the 20th Year off Aurangzebes reign[1].
Art. 18.	Concerning the Surat house	Ordered that we have itt to Live in, and build on; butt without fortifications.
	Garden ..	Omitted.
Art. 19.	For priviledge to Country Factors	Ordered that According to the English Cheifs Dustick, [*dastak*] those factors be not molested.

[1] Aurangzēb's twentieth year began the 8th November, 1676, and ended the 27th October, 1677, N S. His eighteenth year began the 10th December, 1673, and ended on the 28th November, 1674, N.S.

93. DIARY.

"Beginning to Examine the Surat Customes from the 18th Year off Aurungzebe, we find that Year, they amounted to 28,000 Rs But by Examining farther, & Bribing the Mutsuddys [*mutasaddīs*]; We hope to bring their representation to the King so low as to Answer our purpose."

January, 29th

94 CONSULTATION

"Having on Mature consideration, compleated a Second Petition, which is to be presented with all Speed agreed, that itt be hereunto annexed.

January 29th

Agreed that Mr Stephenson prepare the Following present.—

To Nossem Caun[1]—Poet Laureatt

		Broad cloth	Fine	10 Guz.
		Fire Armes	Aurora	10 Do
	1	Pistoll	Imost	8 Do
	3	Sword Blades		
	1	Hooker [*huqqah*]		
	1	Knife		
	1	Penknife		
	1	Pr Scissars		
Rarities	1	Multiplying Glass		
	1	Triangular do		
	1	Spy do		

95 THE SECOND PETITION TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY

1715/6
JAN 29TH
Dilly

"1st. Article In ye formr. petition 1—Genuine.

[1] Is this meant for Na'īm Khān? Mr Irvine suggests that it may be a mistake for Ma'ānī Khān which was the title of Muḥammad Aḥsan the Court Historiographer

2d	do	do	2—Thus Enlarged.	That we have Examined, & taken An Account off the towns form ye Connigoe [*qānūngo*]. The Methud that was formerly used in buying towns is as follows.
				We first Obtained a Nishaun [*nishān*] from Azzimuth Sha ('Azīmu-sh-shān) in ye 1st. off Zilcaud [Zu-l-qa-dah], & ye 42d. Year; Then we gott a bill off sale from ye jemidars [*zamīndārs*] In Jemaudill Owull [Jamādiu-l-awwal] 1110 Hegira, & After all a Perwanna from ye Duan Suba [*dīwān* of the *sūbah*] In ye 2d, off Shabaun [Sha'bān] & ye 42d, Year.[1] Att present we hope from ye kings favour that A Phirmaund [*farmān*] be Granted, that According to former Custom we may Upon ye phirmaund [*farmān*] Obtain a bill off Sale, & Afterwards A perwanna from ye Duan [*dīwān*].

[1] These dates work out as follows The 1st. Zū-l-qa'dah, 42nd. year of 'Ālamgīr (1109 H), is the 23rd. May 1698 N.S ; Jamādiu-l-awwal 1110 H, is the 5th Nov. to 4th Dec. 1698 N.S.; the 2nd. of Sha'ban of the 42nd. year (1110 H) is the 3rd Feb 1699 N S

Particulars—Pergunnas—			
Ameerabad	840	1	6
Borrow ..	869	15	3
Paican ..	3863	5	6
Culcutta .	2151	13	3
Manpoor	223	7	6
Nuddea ..	172	13	6
Yearly Rent	8121	8	6

3rd. Article In ye Former Petition 18th. Enlargement. For Suratt House.	The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣad-dis*] off the Books have forgott to write that the house is the Kings. That house has been given for our residence from the time off Jangeer [Jahāngīr (1605-1627)], 527 rs 8 a. being paid As Yearly rent into ye Kings treasury· Butt being now very Old, & ruinated, Said rent goes Every year in reparations, which is nott sufficient & for building, we cannot doe itt Unless the King give itt us. The King having now signed that we may build According to ye Custom of Indostan, We hope likewise to have itt given us that we may build, & repair itt Accordingly
For A house & Garden. Enlargement.	We Enjoy'd Godowns, & A Garden with out ye City which When ye

City was walled round both ruined. In ye 31st. Year[1] of Aurungzebe 22,000 rs. was Ordered to be paid, in lieu off itt, out off ye Suratt Customs. We now hope we may have 400 Beagues [*bighas*] without ye City, where making A Garden & Godowns we may bless his Majesty.

th Article In ye Former Enlarged Divy Island.

14. The delay that will attend Answer from ye Mutsuddys [*mutsaṣaddi*] will ruine us. We hope by ye Kings favour that A Phirmaund [*farmān*] may be granted According to our petition; & that ye Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*], on ye truth off our Assertion, & ye benefit that will Accrew to ye Country give ye Company possession. In ye Mussoons [i.e., monsoon], by reason off storms, Ships cannot Stay on ye Cormandell Coast; Butt Goe to Pegu, Siam, Achine, &ca. Iff the Company Settle in Divy Island, we may make

[1] The 31st year of Aurangzēb began on the 11th July, 1687, and ended n the 30th June, 1688.

	harbours; & ye Ships nott depart thence With this prospect. The kings Country will be improved & ye Customs off Metchlipatam [Machhlipatanam] be advanced.
5th Article In ye Former—13 Enlarged, Vizagapatam	The delay that may Attend any Answers from thence will ruine us. What is ye Rent off those towns we Entirely Agree to; not desiring that his majesty should be a looser. We hope we may obtain a Sunnod [*sanad*] from Court According to ye Kings rent.
6th Article Entirely new	In ye Island off Bombay, which is in ye Sea, Europe Siccas are Current, We hope from ye kings favour that Siccas may be stamped there According to ye Custom off Madrass.
	Iff the Gold and Silver According to ye Custom off Surat be good, We hope that all ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] off the Kingdom may be ordered to take them.
7th Article Entirely new	In Culcutta, Vizagapatam, other places, The Company have Settlements. Itt very Often happens, that Robbery and Murders are Committed

& y^e^ Offenders Seized. Without an order from Court we are nott able to punish them; & Fruitlessly send them to y^e^ Phowsdar [*faujdār*] who keeps them in prison 2 or 3 Months without Punishment, & then releases them: By all which our Servants receive great damage. We hope there may be an order, that whatever theif is Seized, that we may punish him According to law. By which all people will live att Ease."

96. DIARY.

January 30th. "The Vizier Visitted".

February 2nd. "The King visitted In the Duan Coss [*diwān khās*]"

97. LETTER X[1].

To the Worshipfull
Stephen Strutt Esq. Etc.
Councill in Bombay.

WORSHIPFULL SIR AND SIRS

"Sometime ago we received your dated November the 10th which we hitherto forbore answering in expectation to give some Account of the negotiations.

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St. George, on Thursday, the 19th April, 1716, and is to be found under this date in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No 87, Range 239 in the India office

Our first Generall Petition to his Imperial Majesty is returned and signed and what respects the trade of Surat is as follows.

To the Free trade of Surat: ordered that in the 20th year of Aurengzeb's reign, being at what time the English paid but two pr Cent Custom the amount of Customs of the English trade in Surrat be examined pursuant which a yearly pishcash [*peshkash*] is to be made, and a Phirmaund [*farmān*] given them that there be no farther molestation on that Account.

To the ground Petition for without Surrat, and the grant of the Kings house in it, the former part is left unanswered, and to the latter, the house is granted to live in, the Mutsuddy's [*mutaṣaddīs*] of Surratt being ordered to permitt you to build thereon, but without any fortifications.

But the grant of having a piscash [*peshkash*] in lieu of Customs, we have hopes of gaining as good as a free trade supposing that the trade might not then be so great as lately, and accordingly have been examining the books for those times the only year as yet taken out being the 18th of Aurengzeb's reign to our surprize amounts to about twenty eight thousand Rupees some part of which we must attribute to the private made, we shall endeavour by bribing the mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] to aleviate the sum as much as possible before the Account reaches his Majesty, but being under apprehension that it will not be feasable to bring it down so low as five or eight thousand Rupees, which are the sums limited from the Honourable President and Councill of Bengall we take the opportunity to advise you how affairs stand at Present withall to represent our opinions on this head

That in case we can get a Pishcash [*peshkash*] settled in lieu of Customs we may add to the sum of 12 or 15000 Rupees pr. Annum which we believe will prove no little advantage to our Honourable Masters, and as this is extensive of all the English trade in general to Surat, so it lies in the Honourable Companys breast to lay what duty's they shall think proper on all private trade, thereby contributing to pay the yearly pishcash [*peshkash*] abovementioned, we desire a speedy answer to the article and also that they will not be to strict in the order thereon, but in some measure leave it to us as we shall think convenient.

We have given a second petition to the King concerning the house in Surat and the ground without it for a house and Garden, desiring that the first may be given to the English for ever and then permission to build upon it which we have hopes will be granted.

Pursuant to your late instructions concerning Bombay Rupees, as have likewise Petitioned for the Settlement of a Mint on that Island which we hope will be granted, but you may depend that all those Rupees must receive the King of Indostans impressions and be of like goodness with those of Surat which we believe will answer the desired ends.

This Court has been put into some disorders lately occasioned by the return of Meer Jumlah [Mīr Jumlah] and his Army from Patna puting for the present a stop the our Negotiations. We hope in a few days to see all blown over when we shall pursue our business with what energy we are capable of.

We send this Letter by nimble Cossids [*qāṣids*] to Surat in hopes to receive an answer in 30 or 40 days at farthest which we desire you'l contribute to by the quickness of your dispatches and fair promises to the returning Cossids [*qāṣids*].

We are, Worshipfull Sir and Sirs

Yours most humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
SEERHAUD ISRAEL
EDWARD STEPHENSON

Dilhey,
February 3rd.
1715/16

98. DIARY.

February 5th.

"Dyed Rey Gudsein the Deputy Duan Colsa [*Dīwān*] of the *k͟hāliṣah-i-sharīfah*] with a debauch off Drinking.[1]"

99. LETTER XI[2].

[1] Rai Gaj Singh was appointed *Peskār* (chief clerk) of the *k͟hāliṣah* on the 23rd Muharram, 1125 H, *i e*, the 18th February, 1713, N S.

[2] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St. George on Friday the 4th May, 1716; and is to be found under that date in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No 87, Range 239, in the India Office.

To the HONOURABLE
ROBERT HEDGES ESQ
President & Governour of Fort William
&ca. Councill in Bengall

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

"We wrote your Honour &c the 8th ultm° accompanying a bill of Exchange for four thousand Sicca's which we hope was duly honoured

Not having received any letters lately from your honour & ca. We have nothing more to advise than of the progress of our Negotiation in as concise terms as possible.

About a Week ago our General Petition was returned from his Majesty, the answers to which we shall transcribe as the petition runs.

Article 1. By a mistake of the mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] was omitted.

" 2. Being for the Calcutta Towns. It was ordered that the 3 formerly given to be confirmed, but for the others in case they be bought with the consent of the Owners the Duan [*Dīwān*] is ordered to be wrote to that they may let us have them.

" 3 Liberty is granted to build Factories in all places where we desire, and for the Patna house, that was Petitioned for it is given us to live in and repair in case no additions are made neither Walls nor anything resembling fortifications.

" 4. Concerning Phirmaush [*farmāish*], Phousdarry [*faujdārī*] & ca It is granted as it is to his Majesty's Subjects in General as well as all traders.

" 5 In case of being robbed or plundered. Subscribed that particular Orders be given about it.

" 6 It is Ordered that a Copy of the Phirmaund [*farmān*] be sufficient

" 7. Concerning the Mint Cassimbuzar [Quasim-bāzār] to have 3 days in a week.

It is ordered that the Duan [*dīwān*] be first wrote to

and that if it is not against the Kings interest to be granted.

„ 8. Concerning a Perwangee [*parwānagi*] from the Government of Hugly—Ordered that it be granted if not against the Kings interest.

„ 9. Being for the passing Madras Rupees. It is Ordered that in case those Rupees are altered and made of the same weight and fineness as those of the Surat then to be received into the Treasury everywhere commencing from the 5th year of the Kings reign.

„ 10. Being in case Ships put by at Sea. It is fully answered that considering we have trade all over the whole Kingdom and that by particular Kingly favours We have Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] Custom free, that particular orders be given that We be assisted on all such occasions.

„ 11. In case of any elopement of the Companys Servants or debtors. It is granted.

„ 12. Concerning the trade of the Coast of Coromandell. Granted according to former Custom.

„ 13. Concerning Vizagapatam and the Towns near it. Ordered that the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] of that place be wrote to that in case it is not contrary to the Kings interest and the welfare of the Inhabitants that their Petition be granted.

Article 14. Being for Divy Island is thus Subscribed. Write to the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] there to send an Account of it.

„ 15. Concerning the 5 Towns near Madrass. Ordered that the same Towns which were formerly granted be given us again.

„ 16. Fort St. David. The Petition granted.

„ 17. Being for a free trade at Surat is thus Subscribed. Examine the custom for the 20th year of the reign of Aurenge Zeb paid in that city by the English pursuant to which.—Ordered that a piscash [*peshkash*] be calculated and paid yearly having Phirmaund [*farmān*] given them for it.

" 18. Being for Surat house and Garden. For the house it is Ordered to let us have it to live in and repair but prohibiting any Fortifications. An answer to the 400 Beagers [*bīghās*] of ground for a Garden is omitted

" 19 Concerning the liberty of country Factors—Granted that according to the Dustick [*dastak*] of the English Chief those Factors be not disturbed.

Your Honour & c^a^ will perceive by the notations above that we have not got the full answers we desired to our Petition but as it is a thing customary at this court, We were not daunted at those articles which were as good as denied but drew up another petition which that it might not be bulky. We left out all but what of absolute neceſsity hoping to get our meaning explained in orders from the Kings Mutsuddys [*mutasaddīs*] when it arrives to them

Our Second Petition contained the following Articles.

1 A confirmation of our Phirmaund [*farmān*] for a free trade in Bengall, Beharr and Orixa which was by a mistake of the mutsudys [*mutaṣaddis*] before omitted.

2. That the Surat House be given us, otherwise we could not pretend to build upon it, and for the ground desired for a garden to shew that we have had it by former custom. We have mentioned that there was one belonging to the English which being taken in by the Walling of the City of Surat has since that time been lost at which time the Chief of that Settlement petitioned Aurenge Zeb [Aurangzeb] that the Garden stood the Company in Twenty two thousand rupees which Sum Aurenge Zeb [Aurangzeb] ordered to be allowed in the Customs.

3. We have petitioned for Divy Island showing that to waite for an answer from thence would add a longer time to our Negotiation then we expected from the favour of his Majesty that the leting us have that Island would be a particular advantage to his Majestys dominions considering there was no Port for the harbouring of Ships on the Coast of Chormandell but that in the Munsoon time they were obliged to leave his Majestys dominions for want of Shelter, Bengal excepted and winter on the Costs of Arracan, Pegu and the Island of Zelone, however

in case we were permitted to rent this Island of Divy we should make a Port able to harbour Shipping which would of a certainty be an addition to the trade of all those Countrys and consequently of the Kings Customs that we dare not presume to offer any thing to his Majesty but matter of Fact humbly begging the renting of that Island may be granted us according to the truth of our Petition.

4. We petition again for the Town round Calcutta that at the granting of Calcutta & c[a]. 3 Towns it was first given in the Nishaun and then bought from the Owners after which admission was given by the Duan of Bengall for the renting of them. That in case the Towns we desired were not first mentioned in the Phirmaund, no one would permit us to buy, nor would the Duan anywise assist us in it for which reasons we humbly petitioned that those towns might be granted in our Phirmaund that we would get the Consent of the Owners from the several Jamindars [*Zamindars*] and afterwards take admission from the Duan [*dīwān*]. To this Article we added a list of the Purgunnas [*parganas*].

5. For Vizagapatam Town we have likewise desired they may be inserted but have not laid so great a stress upon them as the above Article for fear of giving to much jealousie, besides we had no particular Account of the rent of those Towns which they desired in lieu of the old ones

The above articles are what we picked out from the former Petition not answering our purpose and to which we have added two new articles, Viz[t].

6. To have the liberty of a Mint in Bombay and that in case those rupees are of the same fineness weight and stamp with those of Surat that they may pass Current in the Kings Dominions.

The occasion of this Article was a Letter lately arrived from Bombay copy of which comes herewith.

7. We have petitioned for Redress to those barbarities Committed by Rogues round Calcutta pursuant to your Honour & c[as] orders.

This last Petition has been delivered in some days but as yet we have received no answer thereto, We have hopes all will be granted except Divy Island of which we have some mistrust.

We have been examining the books concerning the Entrys of Custom for the English at Surat, We find it is much encreased by the additions of private trade for the 18th year of Aurenge Zeb's [Aurangzeb's] reign amounts to about twenty eight thousand Rupees. We are still examining other years to find the least which we shall deminish as much as we can by bribing the mutsuddies [*mutaṣaddis*] that we may by that means answer our end in a Pishcash [*peshkash*] It will be a glorious thing for our Honourable Masters if it can be effected, but We cannot leave this article without offering something to your Honour & ca. that has accru'd to our knowledge. The reasons of the great abuses committed on the English at Surat has been Chiefly occasioned by the many buyers and Sellers of Englishmen there, so that for these many years there has been a difference made in paying Custom from the Company and other English traders as at present the Company Custom is 2½ pr Cent whereas all other English traders pay 3½ pr Cent, for which We humbly presume that should we get the Custom turned into a yearly Pishcash [*peshkash*] there would be an absolute necessity to lay aside any Supra Cargo's going to that Port with a full power to dispose of any goods, seeing this priviledge will entirely devolve on the Company so that goods ought to go into their Warehouses and be disposed of by their Servants which will hinder any future imposition or differences, giving likewise an opportunity for the Company to lay any duty on those goods which may contribute to the Payment of the yearly Pishcash [*peshkash*] laid on that trade. We should not have so boldly offered our opinion on this head had not the interest alone of our Honourable Masters obliged us to it and besides the unsufferable impositions that for several years past have been all on Englishmen in Surat which we hope will be a sufficient excuse farther we humbly desire your Honour & c^a^. will please to acquaint us in your next whether we ought or no to write the same to all the Companys Settlements in India

Your Honour &c^a^. will observe the notice that is taken of the Madrass Rupees as if they were of the same fineness with those of Surat We are in some measure ourselves informed that they are not and that some Essays have been made of them in Calcutta so that in case the advantages are to be had from the

priviledges we have got there is an absolute necessity of refining that Mint. We are humbly of the opinion that if those Rupees were something better [than] ordinary it would be of no great loss, wherefore we beg your Honour &ca. will please to advise the Hon.ble Governour &ca. at Fort St. George on this head as we shall do by land as soon as we finish all the business of that coast.

The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] here would have perswaded us that the King had granted sufficient in Respect to the Towns round Calcutta but we being well acquainted with Jaffer Cawns[1] Friendship towards us made us insert it again in our second petition that we might have better grounds to go upon.

Our affairs being under the patronage of Caundora [K͟hān Daurān] who is a very dilitory man, we cannot expect to have finished our negotiation so soon as we at first hoped for.

We have drawn a bill of Exchange on your Honour &ca. for Six thousand Six hundred Siccaes payable to Mr. John Pratt being for value paid into us here by John Surman which we hope will meet with due Honour.

Inclosed comes Account Cash, Warehouse Account, and Charges Generall with copys of Consultations for the month of December.

We are
Houourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient Servants
John Surman
Edward Stephenson.

Dilly 1715/16
Feb. 7th.

Cojah Seerhaud, [K͟hwājah Sarhād] assenting.
Hugh Barker, Secy.

100. Consultation

Dilly,
February 7th.

"We are informed, on examination off the Suratt Customs, that the 20th year of Aurungzeb amounts to 28,000 Rs. which being more than we Expected & being withall limited to 5000 Rs. [when we are assured itt

[1] That is Jaffar Khān, or Murshid Quli Khān, the Treasurer of Bengal Jaffar Khān's friendship is obviously a euphemism for Jaffar Khān's enmity.

will require A much larger Sum] We judge itt highly necessary to write to Bombay, before the time pinches us, for farther instructions. Wherefore Agreed that the Case be plainly Stated, with this Addition, that we believe a Peeshcash nott procurable under 12 or 15000 Per Annum."

101. DIARY.

February 9th — "The 1st day off the Kings rejoicing"[1].

February 10th — Great Quarrells between the Syuds and Tartars,[2] the former has an Army off 15000 Horsemen.

"The King ordered all the great Guns to be planted round the Fort "

February 11th — "The Kings rejoicing continued: when we visited."

February 12th — "Rejoicings".

February 13th — "Rejoicings finished".

February 14th — "The troubles here seem to grew to An Engagement".

February 17th — "The Rebell Gorow [Gurū] Arrived from Lahore, making his Entry on An Elephant in an Iron Cage"[3].

February 18th — "The King Appeared out: and In great passion ordered Meer Jemlah [Mīr Jumlah] to be turned out off the City, his Munsub, Jaggeers [*manṣab*, *Jagīrs*] and places being taken from him."

February 20th — "The extraordinary guards taken away from the Fort, and the troubles grow to a conclusion."

March 1st — "We petitioned Caundora [Khān Daurān] that he would gett the King to dispatch us, Seeing any longer Stay would ruin us."

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[1] Being the anniversary of Farrukhsiyar's accession

[2] "Tartars" means the Tūrānī Mughals who had been enlisted by Mīr Jumlah and taken to Patna They now demanded their arrears of pay.

[3] According to Kāmwār Khān the triumphal entry of the Sikh prisoners took place on the 17th Rabi 'I 1128 which is the 10th or 11th March 1716 N S and the 27th or 28th February no O S This conflicts with the entry here Either the 17th February is a mistake for the 27th or the 17th Rabī 'I is a mistake for the 7th Amīn Khān was sent to bring the Guru in procession from 'Āgharābād to the Lāhorī gate of the palace

March 3rd. "We salamed to the King on the water, when we presented some Glass bowles."

March 8th. "Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābut Khān] made a supper for us."

102. Letter XII[1] (1)

To the Honourable Robert Hedges esq.
President and Governor of Fort William Etc.
Council in Bengall.

Honourable Sir Etc.

"We wrote your Honour &c[a] the 7th ultimo since which we have received no Letters.

Your Honour & c[a]. will doubtless have heard by flying reports the troubles that have possessed this place for the past month occasioned by the coming of Meir Jumlah [Mīr Jumlah] and all his forces, as 'tis said, without the Kings order, all the Tartarss [i.e. Turanis] mutinously joynd to demand their pay which they gave out they would force either from the Vizier or Caundora [Khān Daurān]. This was certainly the grounds of gathering forces on all sides the Vizier himself having nct less than twenty thousand Horse all which continually filled the streets and attended him when he went to the King, Caundora [Khān Daurān] and the rest of the Omrahs [*umarā*] with their forces, and all the Kings Tope Conna [*topkhānah*], kept guard round the Fort for about 20 days. The Vizier was obstinately bent not to pay the Tartars any thing without very particular examinations and Accounts to be made up for the plundering the Town of Patna which conditions the Tartars did not think to comply with till such time as they found the Vizier was not to be bully'd when they seemed to be willing to come to a composition which was effected by breaking their party, and the Kings orders for Meir Jumlahs [Mīr Jumlah's] procedure to Lahore.

[1] This letter was read at a consultation at Fort St. George on Tuesday the 5th June, 1716; and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No 87, Range 239 in the India Office.

The King ordered Chicklis Cawn & ca[1]. to go and see Meir Jumlah out of the City divesting him of all the posts at Court as also of his Munsub Jaggeers [*mansabs, jāgirs*] & c[a]. with the glorious additional titles of Nozem Cawn Behauder Cawn Cawn Conna Jaunney Seer Walia Shey Zuffer Jung,[2] which are ordered for the future never to be used it is the general observation of this City that this has only been a scheme laid if possible to entrap the Vizier, and take away his life, but He has been so continuously on his guard, that nothing could be effected so once more all is claimed much to his Honour and the entire disgrace of all Tartars in general, they being almost all turned out of service a few great ones excepted. Meir Jumlah [Mīr Jumlah] is now 20 Cos of this place in his way to Lahore, at present without any Munsub [*mansab*] or post, but 'tis Reported he will enjoy the former by the Kings favour, these troubles occasioned the shutting up all Ketchrys [*kachahrī*] for this month so that no business could possibly go on, in which ours met the same fate with the rest, being just in the same state as a month ago. Caundora [Khān Daurān] very frequently promises that He will make an end with all possible expidition, but He is such a strange dilatory man, and withall inaccessable, that We have occasion to summon the utmost of our patience there is no help for it, for with all this dilatoriness He is the only regining man in the Kings Durbar, so that We hope He will at last consider and for His own Honour see us handsomely dispatched with a full grant to all our petitions.

The great Rebel Goroo [Gurū] who has been for these 20 years so troublesome in the Subaship [*ṣūbah*] of Lahore is at length taken with all his family and attendance by Abdell Summed Cawn[3] the Suba [*ṣūbahdār*, i.e., governor] of that

[1] That is Chīn Qilīch Khān, also entitled Nizāmu-l-Mulk. On the 10th Rabī 'I, which was the 3rd or 4th March N S and the 21st or 22nd February O S he conducted Mīr Jumlah as far as Narelah, 16 miles north of Delhi See Mīrzā Muhammad and Kāmwar Khān

[2] These titles are Mu'azzam Khān Bāhādur, Khān Khānan Khān Jahan, Wālā Sāhi, Muzaffar Jung "Wālā Shāhi" means personal adherent of the Emperor while a still prince

[3] Abdu-s-ṣamad Khān His original name as Khwājah 'Abdu-r-raḥim [*Tārikh-i-Muhammadi*] He died at Multān on the 10th Rabi 'II, 1150, which is the 6th August 1737 N S aged nearly eighty. His biography is in the *Ma'āsiru-l-umara*, II, 514

province, some days ago they entered the City loaden with fetters, his whole attendance which were left alive being about Seven hundred and eighty all severally mounted on Camells which were sent out of the City for that purpose, besides about two thousand heads stuck upon poles, being those who died by the sword in battle. He was carried into the presence of the King, and from thence to a close prison, He at present has His life prolonged with most of his mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] in hopes to get an Account of his treasure in the several parts of his Kingdom and of those that assisted him, when afterwards He will be executed, for the rest there are 100 each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one apostatized from this new formed Religion.

Finding on examination of the Kings books as formerly advised that the Customs of Surat exceed that sums we expected, We were, under some apprehension that in finishing this business, We should be obliged to advance a larger sum than We are at present empowered to, for which reason We have wrote to Surat a full Account of the matter desiring their permission that in case we should be obliged to advance upon the sum they formerly mentioned that We may not be stinted to less than twelve or fifteen thousand rupees to which We hope We shall have an answer before We have any occasion for it.

We have lately had Letters from Bombay which give an Account of the arrival of Charles Boone Esq^r^. Govern^r^. of that Island and Laurence Parker his second both from England. We have received some news from Surat by way of Aleppo copy of which comes enclosed.

We have drawn bills of Exchange to the following persons, Viz^t^.

1600 Siccas payable to M^r^. John Prat being value received from John Surman.

5500 ditto payable to M^r^. James Williamson value received of M^r^. William Hamilton.

1500 ditto payable to M^r^. Thomas Faulkon value received of M^r^. Stephenson.

550 ditto payable to Captain Harnet value received of John Aloff.

To all which We desire your Honour & c^a^. will give due Honour.

Enclosed comes Account Cash Warehouse Account copys of consultations and Charges General for the month of January.

We are

DILLY — Honourable Sir and Sirs
March the 10th 1715-16 — Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
COJEE SEERHAUD assenting — JOHN SURMAN
HUGH BARKER, Secretary." — EDWARD STEPHENSON

103 DIARY.

March 12th — "The Viz^r^ visited by M^r^. Surman & ca."

March 13th — "Caundora [Khān Daurān] pretended to know nothing off our Second Petition Altho in his possession; till Seerhaud [Sarhād] refreshed his memory."

March 15th — "Visitted the King in the Duan Om [*dīwāyam*]"

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwajāh Sarhād] and Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] were with Rey Reyon.[1] They were told itt was yesterday

March 18th — Agreed with Caundora [Khān Daurān] that Our phirds [*fards*] should be presented the King, and that they should be signed Cutboolmoolk [Quṭbu-l-mulk] [2] Seerhaud replyd; That iff the 8 Months already pass'd had been off no farther benefitt in our business; The other 8 Months After the Vizier, would Entirely ruine us."

March 19th — "The Kings tents gone out off the City."

104. CONSULTATION.

"We were informed, that Caundora [Khān Daurān] had been advised by some off his Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*], that

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[1] *Rae-i-Rāyān*, the title of the *Dīwān-i-Khalisah*

[2] That is endorsed over to Quṭbu-l-Mulk, the vizier, as belonging to his department "Signing Cootabalmooluck" is a literal translation of the Persian official phrase "*dastkhat* Quṭbu-l-mulk *kardan*" *i e*, to endorse on the paper as an order the word Quṭbu-l-mulk, to indicate that the paper should be transferred to the Vizier s office This meaning of *dastkhat kardan*, as Mr. Irvine tells me, is found repeatedly in the text books of official forms and rules.

Dilly, March 21st

granting our last Petition would be improper, itt being a business entirely depending on the Vizier and the Duanny [*dīwānī*],[1] wherefore itt was more fitt for him, and by which he himself would be cleared, to gett the Phirds [*fards*] signed Cutboolmoolk [Quṭbu-l-mulk]. This was nott so private, butt we had warning iff possible to prevent itt; which we endeavoured by consulting with Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān], and desiring his Assistance with Caundora [Khān Daurān]. Yett in spight of all, the Phirds [*fards*] came out signed as we Suspected. The principle Actors in this business have try'd to perswade us; that this is the safest, & readyst way to gett our business Effected, & that they will undertake to obtain more from the vizier, than can be Expected from the dilatoriness off Caundora [Khān Daurān]. Butt we consider this as a design to plunder us, when they shall have gott the business entirely into their own hands: which being permised, We resolve, when necessity obliges us to goe to the Viziers durbar, to manage the business by our own Intrest; & nott trust to those who have so palpably deceived us.

In this Juncture we believe itt necessary for Cojah Seerhand [Khwājah Sarhād] to proceed to the Camp, Endeavouring first to convince Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] how unreasonable itt is to throw us on the Vizier, withall insinuating, that rather than Carry the Phirds [*fards*] thus signed thither, we would risq the overthrow off the whole business. That After their having delivered our present and managing our Affairs to this day; Itt would be dishonourable to accept itt. In fine, desiring him to write fully off this matter to Caundora [Khān Daurān] iff he could not find an opportunity to speak to him.

Should the Scheme abovementioned fail us, Then we are convinced off the Necessity off Applying to the Vizier and his people; and indeed, to finish our business by what methods shall then appear most practicable.

The King being moved to the Camp, we esteem itt proper to Attend him; nott Attend him; nott knowing butt he intends

[1] The reply to this obvious. The embassy instead of approaching the government through the proper channel, the vizier, preferred to proceed irregularly through Khān Daurān Hence the delay.

towards Lahore, which iff true will require our presence for the managing our Affairs."

105. Letter XIII[1]

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq.
President and Governour of Fort William & c[a]. Councill in Bengall

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We wrote your Honour &c[a] the 10th Inst. advising the needful to that time.

We have frequently complained to your Honour &c[a] of the strange dilatoriness of our Patron Cawndora Behauder [Khān Daurān Bahādur]. He is never known to sit out in publick and Return answers to any manner of business, so that what can be said to him in the way from his apartment to his Pallankeen is all that can be got which is so very little for a man of great business that many days pass before an opportunity can be had even for the least answer, and to his own servants Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salabāt Khān], who has the management of our affairs under him and is as intimate as any one with him can do as little that way as other people, wherefore the main part of all our business has been managed by notes, this has been a great occasion of the dilatoriness of our affairs all which we were obliged to bear with abundance of patience. Still having very fair promises that our business should be done to our satisfaction, nay Cawndora [Khān Daurān] himself very often both by word of mouth and in several notes promised to do it A few days ago when Seerhaud [Sarhād] went to pay his Respects as Usual to Cawndora [Khān Daurān] and put him in mind of our Petition, He was very surprizingly asked what Petition ? have I not done all your business, to which Cojee Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] answered, but the time and place

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St George on Friday the 15th June 1716 and is to be found under that date in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719 No 87 Range 239 in the India Office.

not allowing of a further explanation He got into his Pallankeen and went away. This strange forgetfullness made us in very pathetick terms inquire of Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] what we might expect after so many promises of having our business effected to our satisfaction when we had so long and patiently waited and been at so great an expense to be thus answered was very surprizing, and What we did not nor could not expect in the least. We were answered that daily experience might convince us of the strange carriage and forgetfulness of that great man, still bidding us not to dispond, but that every thing would go very well after so many fair promises as we before had Received, this gave us but small satisfaction and they rather made us the more inquisitive which gave us this farther light, Viz t that Cawndora [Khān Daurān] had been advised by his own Mutsuddies [*mutaṣaddīs*], that it was not his business to perswade the King to sign our Petition contrary to what He had formerly desired, but that it was better to get signed upon it Cootbulmooluck [Quṭbu-l-mulk] whose business it was, as Vizier to advise the King what things were proper to be granted us, We find this was chiefly levelled against our Petition for Divy Island and the ground round Calcutta now desired. We were in hopes that in case We could have got those Petitions granted us by the means of Cawndora [Khān Daurān] that afterwards the Vizier would not gain say or at least by a little bribery it might have passed, there has been severall endeavours made to get an opportunity to speak with Cawndora [Khān Daurān] so as to convince him but none has been procureable, We fear the Petition in this interim may be gone in and will come out signed as beforementioned.

Yesterday the King contrary to the advice of the Vizier and purely on his own will went out a hunting and all the Omrahs [*umarā*] to their Tents, the place at present mentioned is about 18 Cos off, but God knows what may be the design of it, or where he will march to, this obliges us to follow him tomorrow or next day leaving Mr. Edward Stephenson and Philips behind to take care of the Honourable Campanys effects here, should the Petition come out signed as above mentioned We shall be obliged to make a new address to the Vizier which will not only protract the Negotiation but must lay us open to a denial, and at the

best very expensive. We shall advise your Honour & c^{a}. as soon as We have any hopes of Success (which God send) or what We shall be obliged to receed from.

We have this day drawn two bills of exchange on your Honour &c^{a}. Viz.[t]

For 500 Siccaes payable to M.^{r} James Williamson for Value received from John Surman'

For 3600 Siccaes payable to Mr. John Prat value received from John Surman.

To which bills we desire your Honour & ca. will give due Honour.

Since writing the foregoing we are informed that our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are come out and signed Cootbulmooluck [Quṭbu-l-mulk] as we expected. We shall endeavour to act in the present conjuncture with all possible care, and advise your Honour & c^{a} of the Result"

DILLY
March the 21st
1715/16

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

COJEE SEERHAUD, Assenting.
HUGH BARKER, Secretary.

106. DIARY

March 23rd "M^{r}. Surman went to the Camp, Seerhaud [Sarhāḍ] being gone the Day before.

Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] having an unforeseen opportunity to eat and sleep in a private place with Caundora [Khān Daurān], spoke to the following Purpose on our behalf. That as we came hither by his means and instigation, so we depended wholy on him, As for our business we were resolved nott to goe to the Vizier, Seeing he had gott part of our petition granted and to show our Entire respect, we had never apply'd to the Vizier, nay nott presented him, but as Caundora [Khān Daurān] himself directed. Wherefore iff Caundora [Khān Daurān] would nott prosecute our business we would depart

hence.' To this he answered, 'That he would compleat our petition himself; Asking withall where we lived.'—Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] told him we lived with him."

March 24th "The Camp removed from Shalamar to Nerella[1]—We salamed in the way."

"Tuccurub Caun [Taqarrab Khān] The kings great and our good friend departed this life. He was in his life time possessed of Many great services—Among which was Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] and Consomma [*khānsāmān.*]"[2]

March 25th

March 29th. "Visitted the King in the Duan Coss [*dīwān-i-khāṣ*].

From the 25th the King went Every day a hunting.

The Kings Artillery coming hither some design suspected to be against the Vizier."

"Caun—Jehaun Behauder [Khān Jahān Bahādur], The Late Suba [*ṣūbah*] off Cobull [Kābul] arrived att Court[3] The King gone a hunting."

March 31st

"The King went daily a hunting 'till the 4th when he made Duan Coss [*dīwān-i-khāṣ*] and we visitted him."

April 1st.

April 5th "The King returned from Nerella [Narelah] to Shalamar [Shālihmar]."

107. CONSULTATION

"Caundora [Khān Daurān] frequently promises, when this hunting time is finished, to compleat our business—for which

[1] Shālihmār, a garden a few miles out of Delhi, near Sarāe Bādlī, also known as Āgharābād, Narelah is 16 miles north of Delhi

[2] According To Mīrza Muhammad, Taqarrab Khān died on Friday the 9th Rabī 'II 1128, which is said to be equivalent to the 1st or 2nd April 1716 N S and therefore to the 21st or 22nd March O S But if the death occurred on Friday it must have been the 23rd March 1716 O S

[3] 'Azzu-d-daulah, Khān 'Alam, Bahādur, had been Nāzim of Kābul. According to Kāmwar Khān, on the 17th Rabī 'II, 1128 which is the 9th or 10th April 1716 N S and the 29th or 30th March O S., he was introduced at Court by Arslān Khān who had been sent by His Majesty's orders to escort him He presented 1000 gold coins, and his son Sipahdār Khān 1000 rupees. They received in return rich dresses.

Shalamar, April 8th

we must waite with patience, and we doe continue firm in our Opinion, that this is the Only method to Obtain our grants, without very Eminent danger."

108 DIARY

April 9th

"Mr. Surman & c[a] visitted the King."

"There happened a quarrell between Caundora [Khān Daurān] and Mamud-Ami-Cauns[1] [Muhammad Amīn Khān's] people, wherein the Masters so far interested themselves, That on their arivall at their tents Their forces Attacked Each other with Small Armes, Bonds[2] and some cannon After the death off 100 men, They were att last parted by messages from the King, and the mediation off Other Omrahs [*umarā*]—This being very great insolence under his Majestys nose, he resented itt Accordingly; Cutting the munsubs [*mansabs*] off all that were concerned, Among which was his favourite Caundora [Khān Daurān]."

April 12th

"Caundora [Khān Daurān] called to Court so we believe him restored to what was taken away.

April 16th

None Under 7000 Muns: [i.e., *manṣabs*] are permitted to wear fringe on their Pallankeens, and none under 4000 Muns: [*mansabs*] Lace or Embroidery."

"Mamud Ami Caun [Muhammad Amīn Khān] brought to Court; so that the kings displeasure seems to be over; Only Moradabad Phowsdarry [*faujdārī*] was taken from him"

April 17th

"Doctor Hamilton, for curing his Majesty formerly, In the Duan Coss [*dīwān-i-khāṣ*] received what was nott ready att that time,—Viz.[t] At Atlas[3] Coate and Wastecoate made after the European fashion, Butt with Gold Buttons Sett Each with 1 Diamond and 4 Rubys. He likewise received all his Cases off small Instruments contained In one pretty Large Box, all off solid gold."

April 19th

[1] Muhammad Amīn Khān, Chīn, Bahādur, a Turānī, and cousin of Nizāmu-l-Mulk He was afterwards the Vizier of Muhammad Shāh, and died on the 29th Rabī 'I 1183, which is the 27th January 1721 N S.

[2] Apparently *bāns*, i e, rockets

[3] *Atlas* i e, satin

109. Letter XIV[1]

To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq.[2]
President and Governor of Fort William & c^a.
Councill in Bengall.

Honourable Sir & c^a.

"Our last to your Honour & c^a. was March the 21st giving a particular Account how our affairs stood at that time, in the close We informed you that we heard our Phirds [*fards*] were signed but [Cut] bulmoolk[2] which was afterwards confimred by the papers themselves, this put us into a serious consideration what was to be acted in that Juncture. If the Papers were carried to the Vizier and our business carried on that way, We should at best be esteemed as Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] cast off favourites, turned over to the goodness of the other whom if it were possible to engage with bribes or otherwise to get our Petition granted yet Caundora [Khān Daurān] who is naturally disposed to do little good might even then disserve us with his Majesty and so inevitably ruin our business, for it is certain He has such an ascendancy over the King as to dispose him according to his own inclinations; these thoughts induced us to make another Essay of Caundora's [Khān Daurān's] generosity and give hime an Account of our affairs, leaving the Vizier as our last Reserve, First Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān] at our instigation wrote largely to Caundora [Khān Daurān] concerning us, but this had not the desired Effect, however this was supply'd in some measure by the opportunity some days afterwards to encounter him in private (an opportunity never before happening for some months) when he discoursed him concerning us and our affairs at large and to the following purpose. That this Present to his Majesty had laid by many years, no one having courage to proceed in the Negotiation till incouraged by his kind promises of protec-

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St George, on Monday the 3rd September, 1716, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719 No 87 Range 239 in the India Office.

[2] That is, they were merely endorsed over to the office of the Vizier, Qutbu-l-mulk

tion, and that all our Reasonable demands should be granted, That all our addresses to his Majesty had been by his means: That He himself had delivered in our Present and such a one had never been made by any European Nation to the Kings of India since the Reign of Tamerlain, that we were under great concern to find our papers turned over to (the) Vizier, whither we could not go either for his or our own honour, seing We could expect no other usage than of cast off Favourites. That we had not to our knowledge deserved so severe punishment, and accordingly hoped it would not be inflicted without a farther Scrutiny, and lastly that We were resolved whatever favours his Majesty would confer on us, should be by his means, and that what was by him Rejected, should not induce us to apply to any other person[1] it seems He was hot a little tickled with this discourse, but pretended first misinformation, that our business belonged entirely to the Duanny [*dīwānī*] for which Reason He turned it over thither for examination, but since it was our earnest desire he would reassume those papers, and get them signed, your Honour & c[a] will believe that after such melancholly reflections, this for the present a Little revived us.

The King removing about fourteen Course from the city we found our selves under an absolute necessity to attend him though it raised our expenses to a very great pitch, fearing least they might proceed to Lahore as was publickly given out. But his Majesty seemed wholly taken up with hunting, which used to engage him most days of the Week and then from morning till night so that there was a general stop to business. It was the Camp report that this Journey was designed purely to entrap the Vizier, However his care and precaution hindred any sinsiter Councill from taking effect, during this Encampment Coja Seerhaud [K͟hwājah Sarhad] daily attended at Caundoras [K͟hān Daurān's] Levy, whose only answer was (whenever he gave any) that We must wait till the time of hunting was over, when our business should be compleated, a full month has now elapsed in this condition, But in the interim There happened a Quarrel between the people of Caundora [K͟hān Daurān]

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[1] This phrase is still common in petitions in India. An applicant to an Indian prince still states that, "though there are many other great princes and nobles in India, yet the petitioner does not intend to apply to them"

and Mamud Ami Caun [Muḥammad Amin Khān] as they came from the Durbar, which after their masters got to their Tents ended in a downright fight, wherein they fired with small Arms, Bonds[1] and Great Gunns for above 2 hours notwithstanding the Kings repeated commands to forbear: Yet was it at last made up after about a hundred men were killed and wounded, the King was highly displeased with the liberty they took and resented it to both of them: Cut the Munsub [*manṣab*] of all the actors took the trumpet[2] from his favourite, who was not admitted to his presence for three days, and threatn'd much more. But at present all is made up, and his Majesty again reconciled to them; This being likewise over, we reitterated our desire to Sallabut Cawn [Ṣalābat Khān] to speak to Cawndora [Khān Daurān] insinuating that We could not longer support ourselves in our present necessity. It pleased God this morning he found an opportunity to speak to Cawndora [Khān Daurān] (as He says) in a very ample manner, and was answered that as we had staid so long we must wait two days more when he would speak to his Majesty efficatiously in our behalf.

We have endeavoured to dive into the reasons why Cawndora [Khān Daurān], after all the world knew he was our Patron should fling our Petition to Cutbulmoolk [Quṭbu-l-mulk], and besides put such a considerable Stop to our affairs: There goes a report (altho' we cannot affirm the truth of every article) and not improbable that when our Petition first went to Cawndora [Khān Daurān], some of his Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] who thought they had too small a Share in the profit Sallabut Cawn [Ṣalābat Khān] had made of us, on examination of our Petition rose several objections to Cawndora [Khān Daurān] That our asking for Ground & c^a^. was not fitt to be granted, this disturbed the affair so much that we were obliged to a second petition finding this out too late, Sallabut Cawn [Ṣālābat Khān] as a means to accomplish the business, was obliged to ask their assistance toward signing the 2^nd^ Petition, which We are informed they refused, saying that what they had before contradic-

[1] As before *bāns* i e, rockets

[2] "The trumpet," i e, the right to beat drums and blow trumpets, usually styled the *naqqārah* (literally, kettle drums). This was a high honour, only granted to the greatest men

ted, could not be now advised with any good face: for Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] himself he had some Apprehensions that out of spight those Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] had acquainted Cawndora [Khān Daurān] with our Bribery, which prevented his appearing so boldly, as He might have otherwise inclined, by this means the business was apparently stopped. Yet to releive which and keep us in heart (for our obligation to Sallabut Cawn [Ṣalābat Khān] is conditionall) the Jentue Rogues took this as a fitt opportunity to make up their mouths, and so advised the signing Cutbulmoolk [Quṭbu-l-mulk] telling Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] and us, that things would be more easily effected there, than with Cawndora [Khān Daurān], nay We are of opinion Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] privately consented to it· Had We given our consent, it is very probable things would not have succeeded, They having an oppertunity to plunder us and perhaps our whole business in danger of being overthrown. Whereas foreseing so many ill consequences, We got an opportunity, without cognizance of the Jentu's to convince Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān], that we were in the highway to Ruin; but desiring that by the first opportunity He would endeavour to work in the same manner on Cawndora [Khān Daurān] which happned according to the abovementioned Paragraph; yet was this impossible to be effected with the privity of the Jentues

Your Honour &c. has now received a full Account of our Affairs, nothing but Patience can serve our turn seeing our application at present to the Vizier or anybody else would entirely Ruin us.

We now come to answer your Honour & c[as]. of the 3[rd] March which lately came to our hands.

Concerning Barnasse seats [Vārānasi Seth's] mony, and the Calculation your Honour &c[a] are pleased to make of Allumgeery [*ālamgiri*] Ruppes, We cannot tell what agreement is made with him or how the mony is to be paid, whether Specie delivered here into Cash, or according to the Exchange of mony, the allowance of Exchange excepted. If the former, We have no difference here between Surat and Hossanna Rupees, but are informed that the Rupees called here Allumgeery [*'ālamgiri*] are the same as Pucca Hossanna in Bengall, which is

all except new Surat Rupees. If the latter then he is to receive Sicca's in Bengall for Allumgeery [*'ālamgīrī*] paid in here, the difference here between Allumgeery [*'ālamgīrī*] and Sicca's is from ½ to 1 per cent Currant mony of Dilly nine thousand One hundred and eight three Annaes, makes Allumgeery [*'ālamgīrī*] eight thousand eight hundred forty two, fourteen Anna's six pice. We beleive the above is sufficient to clear the Account.[1]

We observe what your Honour & c[a] write concerning Jaffer Cawn [Ja'far Khān] with the trouble he has given the Merchants We are likewise informed that you have agreed to pay him fifteen thousand Rupees for the easy carrying on the Companys business in Bengall, We formerly advised you that a complaint against him here would be to [no] purpose for which Reason We have hitherto evaded it.

Concerning the Madras complaints for those towns We formerly advised your Honour & c[a] as also the Honb[le] Governour and Councill of Fort St. George that Omeer All Omrah [Amīru-l-umarā][2] takes very little notice of any orders from Court and that a private letter from the Vizier was the only servicable method (altho' the Towns are granted when the Phirmaund [*farmān*] is wrote) which was the Reason we procured it and which We hope came safe to hand, being a means to ingratiate our Honb'[e] masters affairs with that Omrah [*umarā*]: We shall be very careful to observe all instructions either from Fort St. George or Bombay.

About two months agoe arrived here Hossein Amidan [Ḥussain Aḥmad ?] Owner of the Ship taken by the Danes in Bengall, We are informed He is endeavouring to do us all the disservice in his power: Having here forged Letters under the Zereef [Sharīf] of Mecca's Seal to the King, Vizier and Caundora [Khān Daurān] that the English are Pyrats and, that the King will do well not to favour us Besides these there are severall other

[1] I understand from this calculation that 100 *'ālamgīrī* rupees were worth 103 current rupees at Delhi; and 100 sicca rupees were worth 104 Delhi current rupees Compare the calculation in Letter XVI, p 147 But in Bengal 100 sicca rupees were equivalent to 112½ current rupees. See Vol. I, Pt 1, p. lııı

[2] Sayyad Husain 'Alī Khān, the vizier's brother and governor of the Deccan.

Certificates counterfeited which will be occasionally made use of: We shall endeavour all that is possible to Render the designs of that Impostor abortive.

Inclosed comes Cash and Warehouse Accounts, Copy of Consultation and Charges General for February."

Shalamar ye King's Camp
April ye 20th. 1716
COJEE SEERHAUD, assents.
HUGE BARKER, Secr.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

110. DIARY.

April 22nd

"The King sett in the Duan Coss [*dīwān-i-k͟hāṣ*]—Sallabut Caun [Salābat K͟hān] now mightyly disgusted att the Court and Caundora [K͟hān Daurān]—He two days Agoe lost the post of Coar-Beg.[1] This Month two Men have been Caught in the Kings Seraglio."

April 23rd.

"Caundora [K͟hān Daurān] again repeated his promises to Seerhaud [Sarhād]"

111 CONSULTATION.

April 28th
Shalamar

"Agreed that an Answer be sent to the Honble. Charles Boone Esqr. & ca. Councill att Bombay, giving Our Opinion how matters stand in respect to Suratt & ca.

For As much as they have mentioned their Orders from England to withdraw the Suratt Factory, and which they had putt in Execution, Had nott Hydera Cooly Caun [Haidar Qulī K͟hān] very much insisted on their Stay Itt is Our Opinion, that as the Honble. Company have no great concerns att Suratt, should the Gentlemen there proceed to Bombay for a Month or two, Itt would Oblige Hydera Cooly Caun [Ḥaidar

[1] *Qūr Begī*, superintendent of the armoury

Qulī Khān] to write to Caundora [Khān Daurān] here, and without doubt very much Accelerate the Concessions att Suratt,[1] which have for some time found Many Objections."

112. DIARY.

"The king made the Grand Vizier a visitt; who, (according to the Country Custom) presented his Majesty with two Elephants

May 5th. five Horses, one Saphir Necklace, one Culgee, one Sword, one Dope,[2] two Bandizas[3] with Jewells, nine Bandizas with fine Cloth, and 100,000 rupees In Gold Moors [*muhrs*]."

"The Kings sent Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] victualls

May 10th. and made him stand higher in the Duan [*dīwān*] than his degree off Munsub [*manṣab*]."

"Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] obliged to take the Arze

May 12th Mocuttur ['*arz-i-mukarrar*], a post he has refused this eight Months[4]".

"The King sent for Seerhaud [Sarhād] and Mr. Hamilton;

May 12th, Dilly. being fearfull that his old sores were breaking out. On Examination they found a Pimple."

May 13th "The kings Pimple broke from whence ran much blood and water."

"The Doctor again with his Majesty, he advised to have

May 16th the Other Phisicians called; Butt his Majesty would nott hear of itt, besides he ordered great privacy."

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[1] Orme notes, "The threatening to withdraw the factory from Surat was one of the principal means of gaining the Phirmaunds" Orme Collections, VII 1711

[2] This is *dhop*, a straight sword used as a sign of rank or dignity, sometimes called the staff like sword. Culgee (*kalghī*) is a plume or aigrette.

[3] "Bandiza" is probably equivalent to *dastar-band*, a broad piece of gold lace or gold stuff tied across the turban

[4] Mr. Irvine tells me that the '*arz-i-mukarrar* (lit. "repeated petition") was an office for the examination of all orders, for the purpose of certifying their conformity to regulations. They were then presented a second time to the Emperor for confirmation or modification Ṣalābat Khān, according to Mr Irvine was appointed to this office on the 7th Jamādi I, 1128, which is the 29th or 30th April 1716 N.S. and the 18th or 19th April O.S.

113. LETTER XV.[1]

To the HONOURABLE
ROBERT HEDGES E Q
President and Governour
of Fort William, & c[a]
Councill in Bengall

HONOURABLE SIR & c[a]

"We wrote your Honour &c[a]. April the 20th from the Camp at Shalamar [Shālihmār] in which Place we continued till the 7th of May, his Majesty making his Entry the day following

This last month has elapsed with very little alteration as to the state of our affairs We, having not proceeded a step farther except in the fair promises of Caundora [Khān Daurān], which of late have been very frequent It's now about a fortnight since Caundora [Khān Daurān] asked for the Petition, which was delivered him, We at that time hoped he would have got it signed without much farther examination but have proved to be mistaken, the Chief objections made to the Petition were the demands of more ground round Calcutta, the Island of Divy, and the ground without the City of Surrat, it has been carefully instilled into Caundora [Khān Daurān] that grants of this nature may be one day very prejudicial to the King of Indostan, first in respect to Calcutta we shall have an oppertunity of frequently quarrelling with the Phousdar [*faujdār*] & c[a] we being already too strong without any Addition, and for Divy Island, were we once in possession of it and ever came to a Rupture with them, no Ship would be able to pass to or from Bengall (We are informed the King has had particular notice given him of this) lastly for the Ground at Surat, although it's very certain the Dutch had a grant for it from Mozadeem[2] that the Present Government is very unwilling to allow it, your Honour & c[a]. may be very well assured all, possible means have been used to contradict these advices, and We are of opinion that Caundora [Khān Daurān] may be something

[1] This letter was read at the same Consultation as Letter XIV.
[2] Mu'izzu-i-dīn, Jahāndar Shāh

convinced of the reasonableness of our Petition, but yet he is still apprehensive that he may be reflected upon, for the ill consequences, which has made him resolve not to do our business purely on his own head as appears by his answer to Seerhaud [Sarhād], let me get the Vizier first to consent and act joyntly with me in this affair and I'll centainly effect your business to which he Added a very Solemn Asseveration.

Our last from the Honourable President and Councill of Bombay seem to make a very Slight matter of the Surat Business seeing they have orders from England to withdraw that Factory, but for your Honour & c[as]. more particular observation, We herewith send Copy of that Letter with it's answer which comes inclosed.

There has been a Rumour spread that the main reason of Caundora [Khān Daurān]'s putting us off so long was by his Majesty's private order, that the time might come about when he was first seized with the distemper last year wherein he would perceive whether he was perfectly clear or no, before he would dispatch either us or Mr. Hamilton, but for this We have no farther Authority than common Report, to our Surprize there is something of that nature broake out again what may be the end of it God knows. Mr. Hamilton has been with his Majesty 2 or 3 times but enjoyned the utmost Secrecy, being admitted to his presence thro' the Womens apartment for fear it should come to the world.

We have drawn the following bills on your Honour & c[a].
To John Surman for two thousand three hundred Sicca's payable to Mr. Williamson.

To Edward Stephenson three thousand D[o].—Barnasseseat [Varanāsī Seṭh] to which we desire due honour.

Herewith comes Account Cash, Copy of Consultations and Charges General for the month of March.

DILLY
MAY y[e]. 20th
1716.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON.

114 DIARY.

May 24th

"Mr. Hamilton has heard no more from his Majesty; so we believe him perfectly well."

115 CONSULTATION.

Dilly, May 25th

"Caundora [Khān Daurān] having ordered Syud Sallabut Caun Be'auder [Sayyad Salābat Khān, Bahādur], Atus'am Caun [I'tisām Khān][1] Duan Colsa [*diwān-i-khālisah*], and Rey Reyon [*rāe-rāyān*][2] Duan Tun [*diwān-i-tan*] As Umpires to finish our business· Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Salabat Khān] objected, That Rey Reyon [*Rāe Rāyān*] had always perplex'd our Affairs so as nott to lett them goe forward, for which reason he desired, that said person might be left out off any future consultation. Wherefore the whole stress off our Affairs att present lyes on Atusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] and the Duanny [*diwānī*]. Agreed that Atusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] be presented to about 7000 rupees, and that Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] carry the list, with 2 notes likewise for 6000 and 10,000 rupees to be used as he shall find that Omrah [*umarā*] inclined to bribery."

116. DIARY.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] was with Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān], who with Bokechund[3] told him, that

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[1] I'tisām Khān was appointed *Diwān-i-khālisah* on the 7th Jamādi I, 1128, which is the 28th or 29th April 1716 N S. and the 17th or 18th April O S in succession to Taqarrab Khān deceased, who had held the office for two years in conjunction with that of *Khānsāmān* I'tisām Khān died at Jahāngīrnagar as *Naib* Governor of Bengal in Sha'bān or Ramazān 1138, that is April, May, 1726

[2] The *Rāe-i-Rāyān* was Rājā Gūjar Mal, a Saksenah Kāyath by caste. He had been appointed *Diwān-i-Tan* on the 10th Jamādī II, 1126, which is the 22nd or 23rd June, 1714 N S He fell dead in open *darbar* while reading a report to Muhammād Shāh on the 29th Rabī 'I, 1136, which is the 26th or 27th December 1723 N S aged nearly 80 years

[3] Bhog [or Bhūk or Phūk] Chand, a Sribāstāb Kāyath by caste, was *peshkār*, or head clerk, of the *khālisah* He died on the 11th Zūl-qa'dah, 1149, which is the 12th or 13th March 1737 N S., aged about 50 years.

May 29th. our petition required mature consideration, and the books to be re-examined. The Present is nott given to the king as Seerhaud [Sarhād] pretended itt would be."

117. CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud[1] [Khwājah Sarhād] possitively affirms, that Autusham [I'tisām Khān] is nott to be bribed : and, in the dispute, desires, that some other person may be sent, to endeavour finding out a way, which to him is nott feasible. Agreed thereto; and that Ramchund ponditt [Rām Chand pandit] be sent to Autusham Cauns [I'tisām Khān's] Servants, being priviledged to offer them to the amount of six or seven hundred rupees, in case their Master accepts the Present and Compleats our business.

Dilly, May 30th.

Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] having delivered our papers, into the hands off his peeshcar Bokechund [Bhog Chand], who has the Entire management off the Duanny [*dīwānī*] business: Seerhaud [Sarhād] informs us, that he Expects 10000 rupees; and desires a note mentioning itt's payment, on the finishing our business, In the Duanny [*dīwanī*]. Agreed that a note be given.".

118. DIARY.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] carried the note to Bokechund [Bhog Chand]. He told Seerhaud [Sarhād], that he would take the money: butt refused the note, beleiving our words sufficient. He ordered two Copys off our petition to be brought, one plain, and one with the Account wrote from the Kings Books."

May 30th.

119. CONSULTATION.

"Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān], the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khaliṣah*], in whose hands was our new petition having delivered

[1] "On the 26th Sarhād reported that I'tisām Khān was averse to bribery, but on the 27th Rām-hand, *pandit*, said he was to be bribed, bu must be it with the utmost secrecy.

Dilly, June 3rd. itt to Bokechund [Bhog Chand], to be re-examined from the kings books and records, We are very well Assured, that on a former occasion, we too much depended, on the dilligence off Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān], and Nutmull [Nath Mall] Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] Vakile [Wakīl]; Even to the overlooking the Duanny [*dīwānī*] Writers, who att that time wrote what they pleased on Each Phird [*fard*] According to which naturally flowed the Kings Assent or denyall. The second petition is now come upon the brink off the Error above-mentioned; so in the same danger to be overthrown; unless all possible means are used to prevent itt Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] has been Earnestly endeavouring to bring those Writers to his house, which they have possitively refused, As for going himself to the Ketcherry [*kachahrī*], he thinks itt beneath him; and indeed we are off the same opinion On this consideration; we beleive our Under Vakile [*vakīl*] ought to be sent into the Duanny [*dīwānī*], to take care off the writing on our petition: but that he be instructed by Seerhaud [Sarhād], without any power to bribe, or indeed act the minutest thing on his own head Agreed that Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] take which Vakile [*vakīl*] he pleases.

Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] dissents from this Consultation Averring that iff any one Else is Employed in the Durbar business He will never stirr again in itt"

120. DIARY.

"In the consultation for this instant, Seerhauds [Sarhād's] objection against the Country Vakiles [*vakīls*], was, that they were inclined to steal; and that when they were once lett into Durbar business, they would instruct the Mutsuddys [*mutasuddīs*], to plague us: by which they might reap advantage. In Answer to this itt may be properly asked why he makes use off the same sort off people? Butt who are nott in the Honourable Companys Service; Especially when a letter from the Honourable President & c^a^. In Culcutta Dated August 9^th^, 1714 have directed that all Vakiles [*vakīls*] be chose in Councill"

121. Protest.

Messrs. J. Surman and E. Stephensons Protest Against Seerhaud Israell.

"Whereas a Negotiation is so obstructed as to meett with more than ordinary delays, contrary to all Expectation, It's naturall for the Actors to reflect on the methods they have taken to Effect their business, and to find out iff possible the Errors they have been guilty off which after they have truely weigh'd, and have convinced themselves off 'Tis Certain all men must Allow that iff they committ the same mistakes over again is a double Folly and unanswerable.

When our Negotiations first commenced we depended entirely on the power Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat K͟hān] had with Caundora [K͟hān Daurān], and the agreement we had made with him, which made us neglect some off the latters servants, who have had a great hand in perplexing our Affairs; purely because they were nott bribed, as they should have been. The persons meant are Rey-Reyon [*Rāe Rāyan*], Tun Duan [*Tan Dīwān*] and Nutmull [Nathe Mall] Vakile. The latter, att the delivery off our petition the first time, had orders from Caundora [K͟hān Daurān] (att their instigation) to give the petition to the Duanny [*dīwānī*] to pass it's examination there from the books and records. Itt cannot be deny'd butt that these remarks must particularly influence Caundora [K͟hān Daurān] and the King to grant or nott grant what we desired. Iff we were then convinced off the truth off this; Itt was to be sure att that time our duty, to take the necessary precautions, and as most off the officers in this Country are mercenary, and for money will doe any thing that is desired: To be sure they should nott have been neglected, butt well bribed, that they might lay a proper cement to our Foundation. Att that time itt is certain we were nott conscious off any Enemys in Caundoras [K͟hān Daurān's] house, and did beleive the influence he might have in the Duanny [*dīwānī*], might hinder the officers there from any partiality in their remarks. Yett John Surman being particularly convinced, that there is a great deal of difference in having a good commendum from the records, which would be much better, than a pall'd[1] account,

[1] Weakened impaired, as in Shakespeare A, and C. ii, 7, 78.

some for, some against: Did advise Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] to take particular care off the Officers off the Duanny [*dīwānī*], and att that time for a reason did Affirm, that this was the only time to Secure a good foundation; which iff now lost would be found very hard to be retreived—Strenuously Affirming this Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] was desired to take the proper methods, which he neglecting we received the hurt before we knew off an Enemy. That is, our Petition returned with it's reamrks upon itt, so far from truth most off them, that they seemed to be made by an Enemy: which, had proper means been used, must without doubt have been avoided; and have hindered our Enemys from gaining weapons to fight us with, and this we Affirm is wholly owing to Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] There is no necessity to run thro' the course off our negotiations, being sufficiently remarked in this Consultation Book Butt bring itt to it's present state.

After a great many putt offs Caundora [Khān Daurān] ordered his Vakile [*vakil*] and Seerhaud [Sarhād] to goe to Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] the Duan Calsa [*dīwān-i-khalisah*], to desire his advice, what ought to be allowed off our petition. Itt was with a general consent Agreed, we ought to secure him by any methods; and a list off a handsome present was drawn out and delivered Seerhaud [Sarhād]. with instructions, that in case he found him mercenary to advance a sum off money more, off this our former consultation gives a particular Account, and Seerhaud [Sarhād] in that part followed his instructions; Butt says, he found Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] free from temptation. and gave our petition to his peeshcar, Rey Bokechund [Rāe Bhog Chand], whom we also have Agreed to bribe as before. He has thrown the petition into the Duanny [*dīwānī*] for a Second Examination, and seems to bring our Affairs to the same Crisis as before in that office: with this Exception only, that we have satisfied Bokechund [Bhog Chand], and he has promised to stand our Friend. Yett as he will nott examine the books himself and iff he favours, can butt only amend any thing done amiss, there being still a method to be used by taking care of the under-writers, which Seerhaud [Sarhād] cannot manage himself, because he will not submit to goe to the office, neither is itt proper he should;

being the business off an under-Vakile [*vakil*] who should Execute his orders; and to which intent we have had severall in our service from the begining off our negotiation. For the above reasons Seerhaud [Sarhād] has been ordered to pick any one off them out, and make the proper use off him. He seeming unwilling to comply, and his disputing against itt with Such obstinacy (The main off which is that the Country Vakiles [*vakils*] are all Rogues and that where he has any thing to doe no one shall attend him or will he give him orders) and the apprehensions there are, that we may again feel the smart off this neglect, are willing to Clear ourselves from the Consequence thereoff.

The Underscribers doe protest against this unnecessary obstinacy off Seerhaud [Sarhād], and doe pronounce him answerable for any thing, that may Attend his non-Compliance: and that this shall be a witness for us, and Against him upon the Examination Off our Honourable Employers.

A true Copy
HUGE BARKER SEC'Y.

122. DIARY.

"Ramchund-Ponditt (Rām Chand pandit) reports from Autusham Cauns [I'tisām Khān's] Buxy [*bakhshi*] and Moonchy [*munshi*]. That their master is to be bribed; butt with the greatest privacy. They intimated that Seerhaud [Sarhād] offered the present too publickly, which might be the reason itt mett with the bad reception."

"Having sent a small petition by way off remembrance to Caundora [Khān Daurān] he returned Answer. That Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān], Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] and Bokechund [Bhog Chand] should mett att his house and finish the business. Seerhaud begins to confess Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] may be bribed."

June 4th

"Bokechund [Bhog Chand] carassed (*sic*) Seerhaud [Sarhād] very much, telling him that he hoped shortly to bring things to that pass. That Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] shall nott only sign the Phirds [*fards*]

June 7th

as we desire, Butt that he will write on a piece off paper, to accompany our Petition to his Majesty, by way off directory for the Royall Duskutt [*dastkhat*]."

"Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] perused the Honourable Companys petition when Seerhaud [Sarhād] was with him He liked all very well and said he would gett his majesty to sign the whole."

June 9th

"Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] told Seerhaud [Sarhād], that last night Caundora [Khān Daurān] had perused our petition, which he carryed to him, and that he with Bokechund [Bhog Chand] would now adjust the modell off the ensuing phirmaund [*farmān*]."

June 22nd

123 LETTER XVI[1].

To the HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES, ESQ[r]. President and Governour of Fort William & c[a]. Councill in Bengall.

Honourable Sir & c[a].

"We wrote your Honour & c[a]. the 20th Ult[o]. giving an Account of our affairs, since which We received your Honour &c[as] of April the 16th which We find cheifly in answer to ours of February the 7[th] with Notations made on the Petition and the King signing.

In our last We advised your Honour &c[a]. of our keeping a good correspondence with the Honourable Governour and Councill of Bombay, We have not lately had any Letters from thence or had occassion of writing thither, As for the Honourable President and Councill of Fort S[t]. George, We have not received a line from them since our arrival at Dilly, and 'tis long since We have wrote them, which was Cheifly deferred by Reason of the backwardness of our last Petition, and dispairing of any answer from thence in due time, there was no absolute necessity for it, So soon as our Petition is signed, we shall immediately

[1] This letter was read at a consultation at Fort St George on Tuesday the 9th October, 1716, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No. 87, Range 239 in the India Office

advise them that their affairs may be put into such a posture as they themselves desire.

We observe what your Honour &c^a. write concerning the omission of the first Article in the Petition, 'tis certain We owe that to those people, in whose hands the Phirds [*fards*] were, being [not] from any omission of ours.

We likewise observe what notations Your Honour &c^a. make concerning the ground round Calcutta. We are endeavouring to perswade the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] that the Kings signing should be mentioned in the Phirmaund [*farmāns*] which they seem to object against as not fit till the ground was one own, where as at present We had not bought it.

Concerning Patna house which is granted to live in, Your Honour writes that 'its not worth acceptance unless as a free gift, The Mutsudys [*mutaṣaddīs*] stickle so much at that which We desire for Surat that We did forgoe that article for fear of hindering that which was off much greater consequence. Besides our advises from Bombay and common Report have led us into a mistake In insisting that the Dutch had a house given them within and liberty for ground without the City of Surat from the King, for upon Examination of their Phirmaund [*farmān*], there is not a word mentioned of it, and only a Husbulhoocum [*hasbu-l-hukm*] under the Consommas [*Khānsāmān's*] Seal, to the Phousdar [*faujdār*] of Surat, to let them have such a ones house, to live in, as likewise another in Patna they have likewise a garden without the City, as well as the French but is a permission from the Phousdar [*faujdār*], not a grant from the King So that if we obtain a grant for a house and garden without Surat it will be more than was ever yet given to any European nation.

We very well Remark what your Honour &c^a. write concerning Madrass Rupees and the fineness thereof, there will be an absolute necessity to have them Refined to make them pass the treasury. It is a thing of that consequence that Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] informs us that Jaffar Caun [Ja'far Khān] had, in a particular manner mentioned it to him among other things, and that our coining at Madrass was very prejudiciall to the King, and his Customs which has made Autisham Caun [I'tisām Khān] object more against our having

Seperate Mints, than any thing Else in the whole Petition, So that this granted will very well compensate the Refining Madrass Rupees: and we hope the Gentlemen there will be of that opinion[1]

If it please God that We finish the payment of a yearly Pishcash [*peshkash*] in Surat According to our desire, We shall pursuant to your Honour &c[as]. orders, write our opinion concerning the private trade both to Madrass and Bombay, of which if particular notice is not taken, no private trader will ever Reap the Benefit of the Honourable Companys Phirmaund [*farmān*], at Surat, We formerly advised your Honour &c[a]. of the great amount of Customs at that place which so Startled us, that lately upon delivery of our Second Petition, We added that of Surrat to it, and did perswade the Examiners of the books to under write, that the books for the 20th year[2] were not to be found, with this view that the making of that pishcash may be rendered the more easy.

We here inclose a particular Account of mony &c[a]. that was given as a supply to M[rs]. Woodvill but having no Receipt from her it comes attested by us all, which We hope will be sufficient to Regain the debt.

Having now answered Your Honour &c[a]. in full We come naturally to an Account of our Present affairs, and what prospect We have for the future

Caundora [Khān Daurān] finding himself much pressed on all sides to make an end of our business, at last ordered, that Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān], Syad Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān], & Rey Reyon [Rāe Rāyān] Should Set down, & make an end, Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] finding Rey Reyon [Rāe Rāyān] might again have an opportunity to Spoil it, told the Nabob he was a very unfit person to meddle in the affair, having acted from the begining with a great deal of enmity and Spleen, and that his designs were to Ruin it, On which the Nabob ordered him to be left out, and that the papers should be delivered to Autusham Caun [I'tiṣām Khān] Bokechund [Bhog Chand], the Calsa Mutsuddys.[3] We knowing

[1] See Vol II, Pt I pp liii, liv
[2] Probably the 20th year of 'Ālamgir, *circa* 1678, 1679 A D
[3] I'tisām Khān and Bhog Chand are here styled the *khāliṣah mutaṣaddīs*

that our papers at length must go there, caused us the more easily to consent to it, making the necessary preparations accordingly, Viz[t]. drawing up a list of a handsome Present for Autusham Cawn [I'tiṣām Khān] with Resolutions to bribe him further, if to be prevailed on no other way, as also his Councellors, and for Bookchund [Bhog Chand] who is the head of the Ketcherry [*kachahri*] We found it necessary to promise a good summ accordingly a note was carried for Ruppes ten thousand on the finishing our business, and by his advice, to the examiners of the books &c[a]. writers to about 1200 Rupees This management has put a very good gloss on our demands, we found our Petition Returned from the examination of the Kings books with a quite different Air, and a seeming consent to all our demands, Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] (altho' he has not accepted the present) he has been very favourable in the disputes which He had with Seeraad [Sarhād] and all the Calsa Mutsuddys [*khāliṣah mutaṣaddīs*] on the perusall of our Petition seeming pretty satisfied with the Gross of it, accordingly three nights ago he carried it to Caundora [Khān Daurān] who perused it all over with it's Remarks and seemed very satisfied, Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] informed him of what We insisted on (and as we suppose) what was proper and what was not, the Nabob returned the Petition and told him that as Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*], he knew best what was to be done: But that he would do well, to take Bokechund [Bhog Chand] and make an end of the business. There has been no Meeting yet so cannot advise Your Honour &c[a]. what method they intend to take but being satisfied that We have laid a good foundation hope for the best.

We have lately made Sale of part of the Merchants goods under our charge a particular Account[1] of which comes	Siccas ..	10958	1	9
	Allumgeer ..	11064	7	0
	Current ..	11396	7	9

herewith Amounting to according to which your Honour & c[a].

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i.e., the secretaries or officers of the Treasury. Mr. Irvine tells me that *mutaṣaddī* is quite applicable to a high official, and does not necessarily mean a clerk or subordinate. It is at times used for governors and *dīwāns*.

[1] Compare the calculation in Letter XIV, p. 10. The sum given in *'ālamgīrī* money seems to be eleven pies short.

will please to pay them, We beleive the owners took particular care to get a Reasonable profit by adding it on the Invoice or else Certainly there was never such Rubbish Sold in Bengall at such prizes, as plainly appeared in opening the bales for Sale, and comparing them with other goods. We have done our best for their advantage, and with which they ought to be contented.

Thanks be to God the apprehensions We had concerning his Majestys indisposition are all over and He is (for ought we know) in a perfect state of health

Enclosed comes Account Cash, Copy of Consultations and Charges General for April. There has for this two or three months been so little expence in the Warehouse that We have omitted sending that Account."

DILLY
June y^e 24th
1716
COJA SEERHAD assent^s
HUGE BARKER, Sec^ry.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants.
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON.

124. DIARY.

June 25th "Seerhaud [Sarhād] says this day was finished all the business according to our wish.

Seerhaud [Sarhād] says, that whatever passes att these consultations will goe into a Phirmaund [*farmān*] without going first to his Majesty, All very uncommon ! and can only be by the Kings immediate order."

June 29th "M^r Surman &c^a. visitted his Majesty.

We hear that the grand Vizier has perused our Phirds [*fards*], and that with a favourable aspect."

125. CONSULTATION.

"The second petition having by the order off Caundora [Khān Daurān] passed the Examination off the Books, Itt

Dilly, June 30th. will be proper to insert itt, to show how the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] upon occasion become tractable.

126. The Second Petition Examined.

1st *The Bengall Phirmaund* [*farmān*].

Itt was Customary for the English att Hugly in Bengall to pay 3000 Rupees as a yearly peeshcash [*peshkash*]. In the 30th Year off Aurungzebe[1] According to the writing off Kuffoyt Caun[2] the Duan [*dīwān*], there was 3½ pr ct. Settled as In Surratt but nott Executed. In the 34th Year[3] itt was determined to take the Peeshcash [*peshkash*].

In the Subaships off Behar and Orixa (Orissa) they pay no Custom.

2nd *The Culcutta Towns.* They now make publick, that they have taken an account off the Towns from Conningoe [*qānūngo*]. In the business off Culcutta & ca. 3 Towns, They first obtained them to live in under the Nishaun

An account off those towns is nott in the Books, neither did the English rent them as settled from Court. According to the Perwanna off Izzut-Caun ['Izzat Khān], Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] off Bengall, and the Nishaun [*nishān*] off Azzimuth Sha ['Azīmu-sh-shān], in the 42nd Year of Aurungzebe[4] the English

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[1] The 30th year of Aurangzēb lasted from 1 Ramazān 1097H., corresponding to the 22nd July N.S and the 11th July O S 1686 A.D., to the 29th Sha'bān 1098. Thus it roughly corresponds to the last half of 1686 A D. and the first half of 1687 A.D.

[2] That is Kifāyat Khān, who was appointed *Dīwān-i-Tan* in 1080H. corresponding to A D. 31 May 1669-19 May 1670 N S. He died, *Dīwān-i-Khāliṣāh* 1109H, corresponding to A D. 19th July 1697-8 July 1698, N S.

[3] The 34th year of Aurangzēb lasted from 1 Ramazān 1101H., corresponding to the 8th June N S and the 28th May O.S. 1690 A.D. to the 29th Sha'ban 1102H. Thus it roughly corresponded to the last half of 1690 and the first half of 1691 A.D.

[4] The 42nd year of Aurangzēb lasted from the 1 Ramazān 1109H to

[*nishān*] off Azzimuth Sha ('Azīmu-sh Shān), and after that gott a bill off sale from the Jemidars [*zamīndārs*] They now hope that they may have a phirmaund [*farmān*] after the same Method.

took them—from whence we understand, That Culcutta & ca. three towns, In the pergunna off Ameerabad [Amīrābād] &ca. In the Subaship off Bengall were bought from Manourdutt [Monohar Dutta] and other Jemindars, [*Zamīndārs*] that there was a bill off sale, and then the Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] settled the renting off them.

38 Towns 8121, 8 3

3 Towns . .. 1195. 6.

3rd *The Suratt House*

Amongst what is Customary att Suratt, This is inserted. That the English from their first arrivall from Europe and settling in Suratt, rented a house with the Owners consent, and in which they still continue. Att present this is the Method. In the interregnum[1] the house off the deceased Etbar Caun [I'tibār Khān] was given to the Dutch to live in according to their petition.

The Garden

. A Garden without the City towards Burriah Gate, in a place called Tungee was settled for laying up the English Ships Stores. They petition that in building the Citywall itt was lost, and desire other ground toward Etwah in the Roome.

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the 29th Sha'ban 1110H or from the 13th March 1698 A.D. to the 2nd March 1699 N S

[1] "The interregnum" is evidently intended for the period between the death of Bahādur Shāh and the accession of Farrukhsiyar. They thus ignored the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, which they counted as *ayyām-i-jahālat*, days of ignorance The Dutch Embassy under Ketteler obtained its *farmān* from Jahāndār Shāh.

4th *Divi Island* ... The Island off Divy [Divī] is in the Sea near Metchlapatam [Machlipatnam], and in the possession of Obiram [Abī Rām] Poligar [Pālligār][1] a Rebell? The account of this Island is nott in the Books.

5th *Vizagapatam* ... Att the Port off Vizagapatam, 5 Towns in the Circle of Sita Cole, [Sikākul][2] whose Yearly rent was 4554·7. under a former Captain, are inserted among the Papers of Maddy Caun [Mahdī Khān], the Sita-Cole [Sīkākūl] Ameen [*āmīn*] in the 1116 Year Fuslee. The towns Alipoor, Dundipoor, Currahs, and Currah are now wanted by the Company in the roome of those Abovementioned. The rent att present does nott amount to the writing off that Officer, these will pay According to the register off the Subaship: and hope itt may be inserted in the Phirmaund [*farmān*]—Whatever is ordered.

6th *Bombay Mint* ... The Island is belonging to the English and Siccas passing, will be to the Kings advantage.

7th *Theives and Robbers* ... That the Phowsdar [*faujdār*] be ordered. Whenever the English are Robbed or plundered; that finding the theif, the goods be returned, and he (the theif) punished as an Offender, and att

[1] *Pālligār*, the name in the Madras Presidency for local chiefs or big zamindars.

[2] This is corrupted into Chikacole just as Sutanūti is corrupted into Chutanuttee.

what time the English Catch any theives on their own ground, and produce them, that they, according to law, be punished as abovementioned.

8th *The Suratt Customs* . . In the time of Sha Jehaun [Shāh Jahān], [1627-1658] 2½ p^r c^t was Settled, and In the time off Aurungzebe [1658-1707] att Suratt, Cambaya and Amadabad [Ahmadābād] 3½ The account off the 20th Year [1678-9], concerning the English Customs, is nott to be found.

In the 1st Year [1707-8] off Sha-Allum [Shāh 'Ālam], Upon the writing off Sha-Amud [Shāh Ahmad] an old Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*] of that Port, The Dutch Customs were settled att 2½ p^r c^t which continues

3½
Deduct 1
2½

In Hugly 3000 Rs. is paid as a Peeshcash [*peshkash*]".

127. DIARY.

"Emenut Rey [Amānat Rāe] has returned our Phirds [*fards*] to Bokechund [Bhog Chand]. Most off the things are signed to be Entered in our Phirmaund [*farmān*] and a few for which we are to have Husbul Hoocums [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukms*]. This Seerhaud [Sarhād] tells us".

July 3rd

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] being att Autusham Cauns [I'tiṣām Khān's] worked so far upon him, that he promised first to ask

July 9th. Caundora [Khān Daurān], and then petition the King about the Suratt peeshcash [*peshkash*]. Seerhaud [Sarhād] believes it will be about 10000 rupees."

128. CONSULTATION.

"Mozuffur Caun [Muzaffar Khān], Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] Brother[1] being to be married this Evening, and we being informed, that itt is Customary for All the Omrabs [*Umarā*] to make presents on this Occasion of fine Suratt Goods &c[a] Agreed that a present be bought to About 1500 Rupees value, being one Suite for men, and one for Women."

Dilly, July 9th.

129. DIARY.

"Our phirds (*Fards*) brought from the Ketcherry [*Kachahri*] by Our Vakile Mittersein [*vakīl* Mitr Sen], he having accidently mett with them. Butt because this off great moment I shall refer itt to a Consultation to be held to morrow morning."

July 14th

130. CONSULTATION[2].

"We have till now had nothing butt pleasing accounts brought us off the going on off our business, and for these 20 days Elapsed nothing came out off Seerhauds [Sarhād] mouth, butt that all was done. Yesterday in the Evening we were Surprisingly convinced to the Contrary, by a Copy off the phirds [*fards*], signed by Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān], brought out off the Publick Ketcherry [*kachahri*], without any intimation before-hand from Cojah

Dilly, July 15th

[1] Khwajah Mustaqīm, entitled Muzaffar Khān Bahadur. He was killed at Karnal in the battle with Nadir Shah on the 15th Zu-l-qa-dah, 1151 which is the 23rd. February 1739 N.S

[2] Khwājah Sarhād was absent from this Consultation being "sick at Cojah Huc-nuzzers house."

Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād]; and being in a quite different dialect from what was Expected, Itt was Supposed he might nott have received news of itt. For which reason the heads were immediately sent to him, which to our greater Surprize he immediately returned with a Copy of the whole Phirds [*fards*] signed, to us, Affirming that he had them by him some three or four days, Butt being himself under the greatest Concern, and having hopes to gett all amended before itt should come to our knowledge, was nott willing to lett us partake off the Secrett. This is an unanswerable breach off trust in him, which he must answer to Our Honourable Employers, Seerhaud [Sarhād] being much out off order, he cannot come hither, Wherefore Agreed That H. Barker goe to him, and make particular Enquiry how this great misfortune and disappointment came about, and desire that for the present he would nott in his disputes insist too much on any off the Articles, that were nott off the highest Consequence, butt rather give them Up, that farther Irritate the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] His consent is likewise to be desired to the sale off all the Companys Broad Cloth."

131 THE UNITED PETITION.

"The 1st and 2nd Petition United	Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] ye Duan-Colsas [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] Signing.
1st *The Bengall Customs*	According to ye kings order give a Husbul Hoocum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukum*] seal off Cutbulmoolk [Quṭbu-l-mulk]
2 *The Bombay Rupees.*	Make an Arze.
3 *Theives About Culcutta* &ca	Ordered write to ye Phowsdar [*faujdār*].
4. *Suratt House & Garden*	According to ye Kings order, write to ye Phowsdar [*faujdār*].
5. *The Vizagapatnam Towns.*	According to ye Kings order, write. to ye Duan Subah [*dīwān-sūbah*] off that place.
6. *Divy Island.*	According to ye kings order write.

7. *The Culcutta new Towns.*	According to ye Kings order, write to ye Duan Suba [*dīwān-sūbah*]
8. *The Suratt Peeshcash.*	The account off the 20th Year nott being to be found, write to Hydera-Cooly Caun [Ḥaidar Quli Khān the *faujdar* of Surat] to sent itt.
9. *Customs off Fort St. George*	According to their former Sunned [*sanad*] give them a new one.
10. *The Phirmaush* [*farmāish*].	According to ye Kings order write.
11. *The Plundering off Goods*	According to ye Kings order write an order.
12. *Port St. Davids and those Towns.*	Write to ye Phowsdar [*faujdār*] there to Assist them on all lawfull & just Occasions.
13. The sending *Gomastoes* [*gumāshtahs*] to ye ar-rungs [*aurangs*] with ye Govrs. *Dustick* [*dastak*]	According to ye Kings order write.
14. *Showing* ye *Originall* Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] *in* ye *Dubar.*	According to ye Kings order, write.
15. To have 40 *Beagues* [bighas] *off Ground for a Settlement*	Write to the Duans [*dīwāns*] that they permitt them to hire houses or Ground, pursuant to the Custom off other places.
16. *The Patna House*	According to ye Kings order, write to ye Duan [*dīwān*].
17. *The Madrass Mint.*	According to ye Kings order, write to ye Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-sūbah*]
18. *The Hughly Durbar.*	Write to ye Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-sūbah*] that he give orders to ye Droga [*dāroghah*] off Hugly, to take care that these people be Favoured in any thing that is nott against the Kings interest.
19. *Ship-Wracks.*	Write to ye Phowsdars [*faujdārs*]

	and Duans [*diwāns*] that the Kings orders be complyed with.
20. *Muxodavad* [*Maqsudābād*] *Mint.*	According to ye Kings order write to ye Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-sūbah*] that he settle itt for ye Kings interest.
21. *The Companys Debtors.*	According to the Kings order write.
22. *Madrass 5 Towns.*	According to ye Kings order settle itt as in ye time off Allumgeer [Ā'lamgir']."

132 INTERVIEW WITH SARHAD.

"C Seerhauds [Serhad's] Answers to some questions Asked him by H Barker, who was sent to him pursuant to a Consultation ye 15th Instant.

Quest.—Why he concealed this last progress off the phirds [*fārds*] from Messrs. Surman and Stephenson ?

Ans —Purely that they might nott become Malancholly.

Quest—What was to be done in the present Juncture off Affairs ?

Ans —Bokechund [Bhog Chand] has promised his Assistance to make Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] change ye word Husbul Hoocum [*hasbu-l-hukum*] into that off a Phirmaund [*farmān*], and lastly that we should have 2 Phirmaunds [*farmān*], 1 Grounded on Azzimuth Shas ['Azimu-sh-Shān's] Nishaun [*nishān*], and I on ye King off Golcondas Phirmaund [*farmān*].

Quest—What was to be done in respect to Suratt ? Seeing Messrs Surman & Stephenson are off Opinion, That iff a peescash [*peshkash*] for 2 Per Cent (calculated on ye Chiefs Invoice) can be obtained, That then all that respects that quarter be entirely relinquished

Ans.—I am off the same opinion.

Quest—On Consideration that ye Great quantity off the Companys Broad Cloth may be some hinderance to us When we prepare for a Journey, Either on ye finishing ye business or a determinate Answer, doe you consent to ye speedy sale off itt ?

Ans.—I doe.

Note :—This was with some reluctancy, he saying a great deal would be Expended Among ye Mutscddys *(mutaṣaddīs)* instead off Money.

Quest.—Shall we acquaint Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] with our Great disaster ?

Ans.—Lett itt be defirred till I have had A Conference with Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] and Bokechand [Bhog Chand], when we may Act as shall then seem proper.

133. DIARY.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] and Mullookchand [Mallik Chand] Having drawn up a paper importing that we were Surprized to See our Expected Phirmands [*farmāns*] turned into Husball Hoocums [*hasbu-l-ḥukums*], That the delay in writing to Suratt would ruine us, and in short nothing was done as we desired, or had been promissed, butt withall to beg Autusham Caun [I'tiṣām Khān] (to whom itt was directed) to regulate the Phirds, [*fards*], and that Mullookchand (Mallik Chand) was ready to answer any objections, during Seerhaund [Sarhad's] Absence, who was Much indisposed. This Mullookchund [Mallik Chand] Carried with him to Autusham Cauns [I'tisām Khān's], who in a dispute told him we Could nott have the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] we proposed. Mullookchund [Mallik Chand] then said that any thing Else would be off no Service to us. Bokechand [Bhog Chand] att this meeting seemed Against us "

July 22nd.

"Mr. Surman told Ṣallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] how we had been used, As Also blew itt Among his Servants that Since we could nott Obtain what we came for, we were going away. When this indirectly reaches Sallabut Cauns [Ṣalābat Khān's] Ears, Itt may have some good Effect, Seeing itt will bring him under some Concern for his 35,000 rupees. Itt is to be Noted that Nobody Assits us butt for their own Ends. Great Rain for Severall Days."

July 23rd

"Such prodigious rain that about 2300 Souls have been destroyed by the fall of houses."

July 24th.

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] went to the Duan [*dīwān*] iff possible

to meett Caundora [Khān Daurān] and Autusham Caun [I'tisam Khān] together, itt happened According butt the former made signs to Seerhaud [Sarhād] nott to speak. To supply this disappointment Seerhaud [Sarhād] went to Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] house, where altho he had time three or four times to repeat our misfortunes by the Duan-Colsas [*diwān-i-khalisah's*] behaviour, Yett the Nabob did nott Answer so much as one Syllable.

July 26th.

Bokechund [Bhog Chand] says nothing butt a messenger from Caundora [Khān Daurān] can help us, so we believe that what Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khan's] did was by the Great-Mans directions"

134 CONSULTATION.

"We have for some time been informed that there was Such a person as Reykirparam [Rāo Kirpā Rām], who had a very great influence on Caundora [Khān Daurān] This man Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] recommends as the last person to be made use off in that House. He says he had private intimations that he offered to finish our business in a small time. Agreed that Seerhaud [Sarhād] goe to him and try what is to be accomplished by his means."

July 27th.

135. DIARY.

"Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] hearing (we suppose) that we were going away, lett Mr. Surman know that he was nott in Fault, Laying itt on Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], butt in this Seerhaud [Sarhād] must be justified, and the Nabob Condemned."

July 29th

"Caundora [Khān Daurān] this day accosted Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān], and asked why the Embassadour was disgusted To which he replyed, that we being flung from door to door till our business was spoiled, were resolved to depart hence, Caundora [Khān Daurān] said he should make much off us, and that The king had spoke to him to hasten our dispatch—and att last upon the insinuations

August 1st

off Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān], He Ordered the Phirds [*fards*] to be brought when only they two would make An End off them—att the same time sending some fruitt to Mr. Surman.

Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] acknowledges that the New Kirparam [Kirpā Rām] contributed to bring things to so Favourable an Aspect, and the best is, he does nott Suspect we hold a private correspondance with him."

136. Letter XVII[1].

To The Honble Robert Hedges Esqr.,
President and Governour of
Fort William &ca Councill in Bengall,

Honourable Sir and Sirs

"Our last to your Honour &ca was dated June the 24th since which on the 17th July. We have received Your Honour &cas of the 23rd. and 29th May to which We shall Reply.

We observe in the former part of your Honour &cas first letter it is Supposed that We had flown to the Patronage of the Grand Vizeir, in our former Letters, We have given your Honour &ca a very particular Account why we did not follow that Method. We still have great Reason to be satisfyed in our Conduct on this occasion, and do believe it must be used only as our last Stake by no means applying to any other person so long as We have the least glimpse of hopes to effect our business by the hands of Caundora [Khān Daurān]. It is certain your Honour &ca have a very true notion of that Nobleman and is the same that the whole Court here have of him. There's no one follows and makes addresses to him out of love, but fear, and he serves us only as he uses the Rest of the world, with all these endowments. He carries an arbitrary Command over all the Officers at Court, neither is there one in it (the Vizier excepted) that dares do any thing without first his knowledge and consent, if they Should, the presumption would be Repaid with the

[1] This letter was read at the same consultation as Letter XVI.

imediate loss of their posts and the Viziers Chief Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] Vizt. Duan Colsa and Tunke Duan)[1] are entirely under his command, so that the poor Vizier has but the Title with very little of the Authority; However having a very great mistrust that We may one day be obliged to go to the Vizier to try the Extent of his power in case Caundora [Khān Daurān] do's nothing for us, We have from our very arrival taken very Particular care not in the least to disoblige him, but on the contrary He is acquainted and (We beleive) satisfyed of our Respect towards him, and as He is not a little noted for being avariatious, We took care, whenever we went to him, Never to go empty handed, but with some little rarity or other, endeavoured to oblige him, which has been always answered with greater Caundour and Civility than We could really expect. Our last Letters carried down a very pleasing Account of our affairs, which continued for some time, till at last all our joy came to nothing, and from the greatest hopes brought to the very brink of dispair of doing any thing, to be brief Attesham Caun the Duan Colsa [I'tisām Khān, the *dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] signed our Petition as follows:—

1. *Concerning the Bengall Customs*	Signed according to the Kings Orders give Husbulhookum [*hasbu-l-hukum*] under the Seal of Cootbulmooluck [Qutbu-l-mulk].
2 *The Bombay Rupees.*	Signed, make an Arrezee ['*arzi*].
3. *The Theives about Calcutta*	Ditto, ordered Write to the Phousdars [*faujdārs*].
4 *Surat house and Factory*	Ditto, according to the Kings order Write to the Phousdar [*faujdār*].
5. *The Vizagaptam Towns of That place*	Ditto, according to the Kings order Write to the Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*].
6 *Divy Island.*	Ditto, according to the Kings order Write.

[1] That is, the Vizier's chief *Matasaddis* viz. the *dīwān-i-khāliṣah*, and the *Tan-ka-dīwān Tan-ka-dīwān* was the second diwan who held charge of the *jagir* or assigned revenue accounts

7. *The Calicutta now Towns* — Signed according to the Kings orders Write to the Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*].
8. *The Surrat Piescash* (*peshkash*) — Ditto, The Account of the 20th year not being to be found, Write to Hyder Cooly Cawn[1] to send it.
9. *The Customs of Fort St. George.* — Ditto, according to their former Sunods give them a new one.
10. *The Phirmaush* (*farmaish*) — Ditto, according to the Kings orders, Write.
11. *The Plundering of goods* — Ditto, according to the Kings orders, Write an order.
12. *Fort St. David and those Towns.* — Signed. Write to the Phousdar [*faujdār*] there to assist them on all occasions in any thing that is right.
13. *The sending Gomastahs* (*gumāshtahs*) *to the Aurungs* (*aurangs*) *with the Governours Dustick* (*dastak*). — Signed, according to the Kings order write.
14. *Shewing* the Original *Phirmaund* [*farmāns*] *in the Durbar.* — Signed, according to the Kings orders Write.
15. *To have* 40 *Begaes* [*bighas*] *of Ground for a Settlement* — Signed, Write to the Duans [*dīwāns*] that they permit them to hire houses or ground pursuant to the Custom of other places.
16. *The Patna House* . — Signed. According to the Kings orders write to the Duan [*dīwān*].
17. *The Madrass Mint* — Ditto, According to the Kings orders write to the Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*].
18. *The Hughley Durbar* — Ditto, Write to the Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] that He give order to the Droga [*dāroghah*]

[1] ĀqāMuḥammad Rizā, Isfarāinī entitled Mu'izzu-d-daulah Haidar Qulī Khān, Bahadur, rose to be *Mīr Ātash* and was for a time *Nāzim* of Gujrat. On the 3rd Muharram 1128, which is the 28th or 29th December, 1715 N S. and the 17th or 18th Deccember, O S , he was made *Mutasaddī* of Bandar Surat and *faujdar* of Sorath in the *Ṣūbah* of Ahmadābād, Gujrāt In Shāban, 1138, which corresponds to April 1726 N.S , a *khas* hut in which he was sleeping caught fire and he was burnt to death.

	of Hughly to take care that nothing be done contrary to the Kings Interest, and that these people be favoured, and do accordingly.
19 *Ship Wrecks* ...	Signed, Write to the Phousdars [*faujdārs*] and Duans [*dīwāns*], that the Kings orders be comply'd with.
20. *Muxadavad* (*Maqṣūdābād*) Mint	Signed, According to the Kings orders, Write to the Duan Suba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] to settle it, for the Kings Interest.
21 *The Company's Debtors*	Signed According to the Kings order Write.
22. *Madrass* 5 *Towns*	Ditto, According to the Kings orders, Settle it as in the time of Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr]

Your Honour &c'a will conceive how Strangely We were Startled at this news, when We had such daily advices from Seerhaud [Sarhād] that all was done, may to the very last, but what was worse than all, We received the papers out of the Ketcherry [*kachahri*] from other hands, which He owned afterwards was known to him 3 or 4 days before, The only Reason He gave for this unaccountable concealment was, that since Attesham Cawn [I'tisām Khān] had so deceived him, He was resolved not to be communicative, till he had tryed all possible means to retrieve it, and by that means hinder the great concern and Chagrin that must necessarily seize us on such disappointments; We are unacquainted with what answer he can give himself, or our Honourable Masters, for such an apparent breach of trust, In fine, after this was publickly known Seerhaud [Sarhād] frequently went to Attesham Cawn [I'tisām Khān] who he now owns, told him that if We had a Phirmaund [*farmān*] already, We should have another according to it

We are very conscious the Phirmaund [*farmān*] We have is of very little consequence and hardly worth being accepted; to Receive Husbul hookums [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukum*] would be a President that was never made yet and would have a very bad influence upon futurity. Complaints were made to Cawndora [Khān

Daurān] with as little Success as formerly, and likewise to Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] from whom We expected little assistance; with all We were so bold to threaten We would leave the place, But since We were in hopes to Receive an answer from Your Honour &ca in so small a time. We esteemed it most proper, not to execute so bold an Action (whereon depended the Welfare and all our Honourable Masters Settlements in India) till We had Received very Particular instructions from Your Honour &ca. We do believe such an attempt might have good success, since they are sufficiently apprehensive, what damages We are able to do them at Sea and We are assured it is only the fear of that which will ever bring them to a complyance, without any notice of the great Presents, that have been made them, and the long time We have been attending at Court. We desire your Honour &ca will please to weigh every Step, We have made from the beginning of this Negotiation, We have upon all occasions used the Utmost precaution, and what We hope has been approved of but at present We are at a Stand, the many and suddain revolutions in our affairs from topsie turvy, give us warning to have very little dependance on the fair promises of these great men, So desire Your Honour &cas. very particular Instructions in your first on all that We have Wrote about.

Not knowing what Streights We may be put under or how soon the King may leave the City, We believe for our Honourable Masters Interest, that the less goods are left in their Godowns the better, for we find the Mutsuddys (*mutasaddis*) are much better pleased with Ready money than Broad cloth, since the vast quantity that has been disposed of in this City has made a meer drug of it For which Reason We have agreed and ordered Mr. Stephenson to dispose of most of the Honourable Companys Broad cloth, by the first oppertunity at the market price, that We may be light and Ready on all occasions.

We have for sometime been told, that there was such a person as Ray Kirperam [Rāe Kirpā Rām] in Caundora's [Khān Daurān's] house, upon whose words he laid a very great stress having oftener access to his private Consultations than any One else whatsoever, Our affairs at that time were so involved with Attesham Cawn [I'tisām Khān] &ca. that We had not time

to try him till now which happened on the following occasion; In our last Letter to the President &ca at Bombay, We intimated that as they had orders from England to withdraw the Surat Factory, We did beleive had the Chief of Surat insisted more upon his departure, when his Stay was desired by Hyder Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] he would rather than let them leave the City have wrote to Court about it; The answer to our Letter we here inclose by which your Honour &ca will see, they did give orders to the Chief of Surat, to reiterate their remonstrances to Hyder Cooli Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān], which had the desired effect, For (as We are informed) Hyder Cooli Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] immediately write to the King and Caundora [Khān Daurān], that Should they not be satisfyed here, and leave the City of Surat, that Port would be Ruined, This letter arrived much about the time, Our last foil was given by Attesham Cawn [I'tisām Khān], and We upon the new Scheem of employing Kirperam [Kirpā Rām], who has the entire management of all Hyder Cooli Cawns [Haidar Qulī Khān's] business here with Caundora [Khān Daurān] and the King; So having this plauseable pretence to go upon, He very readily entered into our business but as yet denies to appear in it publickly. This has been so brought about that our friend Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān], has himself desired that this man might be employed; In fine Ray Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] delivered Hyder Cooli Cawns [Haidar Qulī Khan] letter to Caundora [Khān Daurān] and (as He says) to the King, which not a little Start(l)ed the former and produced this effect. That when Sallabutt Cawn [Salābat Khān] went the next morning to the Durbar, Caundora [Khān Daurān] asked him why We were disgusted, with the reason of it, Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] answered that He had information We were preparing for our departure without any farther concern for the affair We came about, Seeing We had so little notice taken of us that the Nabob had thrown our business from door to door, till it was quite Spoiled, and He ought to consider that We were called by him alone, and till such time as He would undertake our business so farr as to compleat it himself, Without flinging it abroad to People, who would not consult his honour, We would not be satisfied. Caundora [Khān Daurān] bid Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] do all

He could to satisfy us, and desired him to bring our Petition to him again, when only them two would finish all in a few days, and at the same (time) ordered a dish of fruit to be sent to John Surman; This new Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] makes great promises, how soon every thing shall be done, but withall will expect to be largely rewarded as yet We are not acquainted with the heighth of his demands.

If this project answers expectation, Your Honour &ca. may expect a flying Cossid [*qāṣid*] to bring the good news, till when We have no further to add on this Head. This following persons having paid the summons under written into the Honourable Companys Cash have desired bills of Exchange of this Instant on the Honourable President & Councill.

John Surman	4000 Sicca's payable to Mr. James Williamson.
Edward Stephenson	5000 Sicca's payable to Mr. Thomas Falconer.
William Hamilton & Hugh Barker	7000 Sicca's payable to Mr. James Williamson.
Cojah Seerhaud	450 Sicca's payable to Ballean his Gomasta [*gumāshtah*].

We likewise drew a bill of Exchange payable to Seerhauds [Sarhād's] Gomasto [*gumāshtah*] June the 14th for three hundred and fifty Sicca's, which was omitted in our last.

To all these We desire your Honour &ca will give due Honour.

Enclosed comes Account Cash Warehouse Accounts Copys of Consultations and Charges General for the months of May & June.

We are
Honourable Sir & Sirs
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON.

DILLY
August, 1st. 1716.

COJAH SEERHAUD consents to the signing this General Letter.
HUGH BARKER Secry.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Please to pay these Cossids [*qāṣids*] 25 Rupees.[1]

HUGH BARKER, Secretary

137. DIARY.

August 6th — "For this four days nothing remarkable—Only that there has been Prodigious Rain."

August 16th — "Caundora [Khān Daurān] narrowly Escaped being killed by a Sepys Katarry[2] who wanted pay."

August 24th — "Itt is rumoured About the City that we are going, which report can have no ill Effect.

This Evening Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] Carried Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] to Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] House, where was held a Consultation on our phirds [*fards*]."

138. CONSULTATION.

Dilly, August 25th.

"After a great many delays, Last night was the only time That Ever Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] could gett admittance to Caundora [Khān Daurān] in private being introduced there by Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Salābat Khān] Caundora [Khān Daurān] was pleased to say he would now sign Our Phirds [*fards*], and make an End off our business, butt he desired that Nothing would be insisted on, that might hereafter call his prudence in question for allowing itt. To which Seerhaud [Sarhād] Answered 'That we should nott dare to petition for any Such thing. That in Case there was any part off our petition, that was Either Contrary to former Custom or Prejudiciall to the Kings reall Interest, we would waive itt and that he was there ready to Answer any insinuations, that might be made to the

[1] Twenty-five rupees for couriers to-day the postage would be a few annas, and the documents would reach Calcutta in less than 48 hours
[2] A Sipahi" *Kātārī*, The *Katari* was a small *Katārāh* or dagger

Nabob on that Account.' The Phirds [*fards*] were then immediately produced and read over by Rey Reyon [Rāe Rāyān], who did nott forget to be as Ill humoured as formerly, However, Caundora [Khān Daurān] was att that time better disposed than to be immediately influenced by him.[1]"

139. DIARY.

August, 27th — "The King made Gesson[2] for three days—when Mr. Surman &ca. visitted him."

September, 9th — "Visited the Grand Vizier, When was Carried A Fine Case, Fine Lace and Ribbon and three pieces China Silk. He is much indisposed, and we will Call Mr. Hamilton."

140. LETTER XVIII[3].

To the Honourable EDWARD HARRISON Esq.

President and Governour of Fort St. George &ca. Councill.

HONOURABLE SIR &ca.

"It is long since We wrote your Honour &ca occasioned Chiefly by the little progress We have made in the Negotiation We have entered into, As We have from time to time given a very particular Account of the Course of this Affair to the Honourable President and Councill of Bengall, without doubt you have Received the same from them upon all occasions and consequently the last which We wrote them from hence, will be communicated to your perusall, This dispair was occasioned by our having consumed much time and money, without making any farther progress than the many promises and Shifts of these inconstant Courtiers which tended in the end meerly

[1] Here follows a copy of the *fards* signed which is repeated in the letter below

[2] *Jashan*, rejoicings, festivities

[3] This letter was read at a Consulation at Fort St. George the 10th December, 1716, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No 87, Range 239 in the India Office.

to Show us that they were made to get the Present from us, and then for our business which We came about Shuffle us off from one to another, till being quite Wearied out, We Should Accept of anything We found the only thing that touched them was the apprehensions they had, in case We were Realy Disgusted, We might do them such damage at Sea as might by that means since bring them to Reason The Honourable Charles Boone Esqr &ca Councill of Bombay advising us that pursuant to the orders they had Received from our Honourable Employers, they had withdrawn Surat Factory, and accordingly had given orders to Mr Clerke &ca to Repair to Bombay, Upon the knowledge of which Hydra Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] the new Phousdar [*faujdār*] sent for them and with a great many fair promises, prevailed on them to stay till such time he should Write to the Honourable Charles Boone Esqr. which occasioned Mr. Clerkes permission to stay till such time as they could judge of our Success here. We found this (the) fittest opportunity We could have to Startle our Patron Caundora [Khān Daurān] into some Reasonable compliance, the Port of Surrat being immediately under his care and Hyder Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] the Phousdarr [*faujdār*] thereof, being not only a particular favourite of his, but of the King himself so that whatever He should write would have a very considerable influence upon our Success here, upon these considerations we wrote the Honourable President and Councill of Bombay that it was our opinion in Case the Factory of Surrat was offered to be withdrawn under the pretence that We were disatisfyed here that Hyder Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] would be so farr from allowing of it, that He would immeduately write this Court to give us full satisfaction. Accordingly it happened, for Hyder Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] as soon as ever He had Received intimation of it wrote to Cawndora [Khān Daurān] and the King the ill consequences that might attend that Port in case We should leave it, and We at the same time took particular Care to let the world know our disgust here All this immediately reached his Majestys Ear, who questioned Cawndora [Khān Daurān] about us, and as he himself confessed, ordered him to grant all our demands, We were in great hopes that this would have been followed

with punctuallity, but instead of that to our sorrow We found the same excuses and Shifts Renewed, of to-day and to-morrow, it should be done, which made us conclude that now there was no other practicable way remaining but that most desperate Remedys which might have the best influence Viz[t]. Actually to leave the City in a disgust which would make them beleive a Rupture might follow, but as this would have been a very bold Action in itself, so it might have very different Consequences upon all the Companys settlements in India, for which reason we did not think our selves sufficiently Authorized to put in Execution without first advising with those Gentlemen who gave us our Commissions the Honourable President and Councill in Bengall. We are still of the same opinion that in case they don't think fit to be as good as their words, that the only way to make them comply is to put in practice the methods above-mentioned.

About twenty five days ago Caundora [K͟hān Daurān] was pleased to admit Coja Seerhad [K͟hwājah Sarhād] in private the only time that has ever happened during our fourteen months Stay here, he then promised He would make an end of our business, but he desired that nothing might be insisted on that might Reflect on his prudence for granting of it, Seerhaud [Sarhād] answered We should not dare to demand anything that was Contrary to Former Custom, or prejudiciall to the Kings Real interest, and that He was there ready to answer any insinuations that might have been made to the Nabobs on that Account Accordingly our Petition was immediately produced Read over and examined when it was ordered to be signed as follows —

Bengall and Beharr Customs	Give a Phirmaund [*farmān*]
Bombay Mint, concerning the coining of mony.	Give Strict orders on the Mutsuddys [*Mutaṣaddīs*]
Calcutta &[ca] Rogues.	Give Strict orders to the Subahs [*ṣūbahs*] of those provinces.
The House and ground at Surrat	Let them buy 150 Beages [*bighas*] instead of what they had before, give a Sunnod [*sanad*] from the

	Duan [*diwān*] for it. For the house, Petition again.
The Vizagapatam Towns.	Two of the five Towns being returned back, give a Phirmaund [*farmān*] for the rest.

NOTE - The Reason for the delivery up of those Towns was the permission we had from your Honour &c^a *for so doing since they would not* give others in their Stead and our belief by consenting thereto other more important Articles might be obtained for our Honourable Masters

Divy Island	Give a Sunnod from the Duanny.
The Callcutta new Towns.	Give another Petition to his Majesty.
Surrat Peescash.	Take an obligation that they are content to pay 10,000 Rupees Peeshcash, and give them a Phirmaund.

so that at this rate there remained only two things, Viz^t. having the Callicutta Towns entered in the Phirmaund and the gift of the Surrat house, about which Cawndora promised He would speak to the King and then sign and deliver them, this has passed twentyfive days without either his speaking to the King or we hearing any news of the Papers which make us sometimes think that this was only intended as a trick to keep us easy, God send it may prove otherwise, If it should your Honour &^{ca}. may depend the news shall fly by the nimblest Cossids, in the mean time We waite with patience till We have Received an answer to our Letter to the Honourable President and Councill in Calcutta

We have had the best opportunity in the world of trying the fickleness and unfaithfullness of this Court to the last, they have nothing but their own Interest in view without the least Spark of Honour or gratitude, The Person that Rules this Court at present with an unbounded Sway is Cawndora Bahauder our Patron, It may be properly said he does what he pleases with the King and Government not only the Vizeir but all the Officers at Court can do nothing with the King without him, at the same time with this great Authority he is the most dilatory person in the world, hardly ever sits out to transact

any publick affairs as Your Honour &ca. may observe by the Single opportunity that Seerhaud had to be with him during the space of 14 months, and so he serves every body else, who are obliged to sue for his Assistance, and although it is so difficult to bring him to do any good, yet mischief he has at hand for he takes particular care to let them know the length of his Authority who presume to make their Addresses otherways. The Persian Embassadour by his lightness of behaviour has confirmed the truth of this, Cawndora having particularly abused him He has Received his Audience of leave from his Majesty now these five months,[1] but as yet cannot get an answer to his Letter, a Receipt for his Present or what else He desires, and at present he is as near obtaining it as he was before to all Outward appearance, In fine the business of the whole Kingdom in General is dispatched much after the same nature and these examples very well demonstrate the looseness of the Present Government Our patience is almost weary'd out, God grant so much trouble and fatigue may receive it's desired Effect, which we shall think our selves sufficiently rewarded for so long and to us unprofitable Journey.

We are, Honourable Sir and Sirs

DILLY — Your Most Obedient Humble Servants

Sept. 15th 1716. — JOHN SURMAN

COJA SEERHAUD Assenting, — EDWARD STEPHENSON."

HUGH BARKER Secretary.

141. LETTER XIX[2]

To the HONOURABLE EDWARD HARRISON ESQR. President and Governour of Fort St. George &ca. Councill.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

"Since writing the foregoing, is come to hand duplicate of your Honour &cas. dated November the 19th as also Duplicate

[1] The *rukhsat* or audience of leave taking of the Persian Ambassador was granted on the 5th Rabi'II, 1121 which is the 18th March O. S.

[2] Read at the same Consultation as Letter XVIII.

dated June the 19th The Originals of neither being as yet come to hand, We Suppose it May happen by the miscarriage of the Kings Gusburdarrs [*gurzbardārs*; mace-bearers] or what other Messengers might have been made use of Seing the way from Madrass by Land hither is very dangerous.

For a particular Account of the State of our affairs We referr your Honour &c^a^ to our foregoing; We are not able to add any thing thereto

We are glad to hear that your Honour &c^a^ have been so happy as to keep all Quiet hitherto, God grant it may continue.

Herewith comes an answer to the Letter wrote by the Honourable Edward Harrison Esq. to Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān] and Zeody Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] We suppose the latter has been very particular in giving an Account of our affairs, he has but very little power to do either good or bad to our negotiation, If he had We have Reason to fear he would show as little Generosity as any of the Cast, who are truly treacherous and only observient to their own Interest

We take particular notice of your Honour &c^as^. Observations on all that Relates to your Presidency. As for the first concerning the Madrass Rupees We find that the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] were deceived in asserting that they were worse than those of Surratt. It would be sufficient if only the Grant could be obtained for it since the difference will be disputed in the Mints of Bengall & c^a^. However should a dispute arise here We are sufficiently armed with reasons sent from your Honour &c^a^ and transmitted to us by the Honourable President &c^a^ of Bengall

We shall if possible get distinct Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] for Bengall, Madrass and Bombay and to be effected without too much trouble, if not We shall than joyn all together, taking particular care that all which is perfectly granted may be inserted As for the rest, they will be in Sunnods [*sanads*] under the Viziers Seal.

Concerning the Vizagapatam Towns, your honour &c^a^. will perceive a clear answer in the foregoing, so that you may have Sufficient time to prepare for their Surrendry, when they shall be demand [ed] by the Government.

Divy Island your Honour &c[a] will see is granted if our friend Caundora [Khān Daurān] continues but as good as his word, upon whom alone depends the good or bad Success of this Embassy.

We observe what your Honour &c[a] are pleased to order how the five Towns Shall be inserted in our generall or particular Phirmaund [*farmān*] We are not able to inform Your Honour &c[a]. how that will be digested till such time as the Papers being to Run in the Offices when we Shall have a particular Regard to your Honour &c[as] instructions on this head.

Concerning the Surrat Peeshcash and the Regulations of that trade which we humbly proposed to the Honourable President &c[a]. In Bengall, We shall not at present make any addition, till such time as what We have already Signed is Confirmed. If it be so 'twill be glorious to our Honourable Masters and to the benefit and Honour of the English Trade in Generall to that Port, so without doubt worthy the determinations of our Right Honourable Employers."

DILLY
September 16th
1716.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

COJA SEERHAUD, Assenting
HUGH BARKAR, Secretary

142. DIARY.

September 23rd. "Mr. Hamilton has been with the Vizier, butt has nott gott him under his hands."

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] returning from Caundora [Khān Daurān] says; The Nabob told him he had sent our papers,

September 27th. among many others under A Cover to his Majesty, and that there was no fear, because he had fully acquainted his Majesty with all Articles that appeared the least difficult."

"House rent being now adjusted between y[e] Christian and

September 30th. Mahometan Calculations, y[e] particulars are Here inserted, Pursuant to a Consultation y[e] 6[th] Instant.

House Rent

Dr

To cash July	650	0	0			
August ..	285	0	0			
October .	400	0	0			
November ..	290	0	0			
December	412	0	0			
January ..	420	3	3			
February .	329	9	6			
March	329	9	6			
Aprill	329	9	6			
May	329	9	0			
July	329	9	6			
August	329	9	6			
				4,344	11	9
Batta on 1535 nott Charg'd @ — 3 p.c				46	0	0
				4,390	11	9
Balance paid in Septr. ..				608	8	3
				4,999	4	0

Cr.

By C Seerhauds first House from 9th July to January 23 pd p. Moone from 17th Rujub (*Rajab*) to 8 Sunphur (*Safar*) mo days 6 21	522	10	6			
Entering money	30	0	0			
				552	10	6
By E Stephensons House from 30th July to y[e] Last August pr Moone from 9th Shabaun (*Sha'ban*) to 23 Ramzan m d r is 13 14 @ 120	1,616	0	0			
Entering Money	30	0	0			
				1,646	0	0
By C Seerhauds other House from 10th Aug. 31st d[o] p[d]. y[e] Moone from 20th Shabaun (*Sha'ban*) to 23 Ramzan m d. r. 13 3 att 200	2,620	0	0			
	200					
Entering money .	35	0	0			
				2,655	0	0
				4,853	10	6
Batta 3 per cent ..				145	9	6
				4,999	4	0

143. CONSULTATION.

"We have just now (thanks be to God) received our petition from Caundora Behauder [Khān Daurān, Bahādur], signed by his Imperiall Majesty, and which being perused, we find itt answers our End In Every respect, two articles, Viz[t] for more ground round Culcutta and the gift off the Suratt house, Expected. On the Former, the King having signed A Grant only for 800 rupees, Itt is our Opinion that we ought to petition again for that article, trying att the same time to succeed by all possible means, butt without any impediment to the bulk off our Affairs: As for the Suratt house Itt is nott worth the while to petition again.—For the papers that are already signed, we doe Esteem itt proper to deliver them into the Duanny [*diwani*]; and that Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] take the proper methods to have them pass that Ketcherry [*kachahri*] with all Expedition."

Dilly, October 7th

144. LETTER XX[1].

To The HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES Esq.
President and Governour of Fort William
&c[a]. Councill in Bengall.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

"Our last to your Honour &c[a] were the 15[th] and 16[th] Ult[o]. We are now to advise that after a great many fair promises Caundora [Khān Daurān] has in some measure been as good his word, this Instant having sent us our papers Signed by the King which are as follows[2]—

The Bengall free Trade	Signed. Give a Phirmaund [*farmān*].
Surrat Customs	Since they agree to pay a Yearly Piscash [*pishkash*] of 10,000 Rupees give a Phirmaund [*farmān*].

[1] This letter was read at consultation at Fort St. George on Monday the 10th December, 1716, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719 No. 87, Range 239 in the India Office.

[2] This petition is entered in the diary on October 17th, under the heading, "The Second Petition signed by his Imperial Majesty."

Divy Island	Give a Sunnud [*sanad*] from the Duanny [*diwāni*]
Bombay Mint	For the Currency of Bombay Rupees, give Particular orders to the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] there
Calcutta Towns	Beside the three old Towns, give them two Towns more to the value of 800 Rupees among the others they Petition for
Surrat House and Ground	Instead of what was formerly let them buy 150 beages [*bīgahs*] of ground and give them a Sunnud [*sanad*] for it from the Duanny [*dīwani*]
	Write to Hyder Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] that instead of Exbar Cawns house he give them Another which after he has pitched upon advise the Court that a Sunnod [*sanad*] may be given
The Vizagapatam Towns	They Relinquish two of the five Towns they have for the Remaining give them a Phirmaund [*farmān*]
The Rogues	Give particular orders, to the Subahs [*sūbahs*] there.

By the foregoing Your Honour &c[a] will perceive that they are signed much after the same nature as we advised in our last, only the Surrat house and Calicutta Ground which they seem to have Shifted off instead of granting as was promised. For the house We shall say no more about it and for the ground only just try if it can be obtained, or Receive an answer so as not to impede the going on of the business. As the Case Stands We hope We have a great deal of Reason to Congratulate your Honour &c[a] (as We do) upon this occasion God grant it may be Seconded by the Receipt of Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] &c[a] necessary papers to attain which our utmost dilligence shall not be wanting.

Whether it will be improper to keep all this good news a Secret from the Government of Bengall and Surrat till We have secured the Grants here, Your Honour &c^a^. will be the best judges. We mention this for fear if it should be blazed about, it might Egg Jaffar Cawn [Ja'far Khān] or Hydra Cooly Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] to impede it, When We have the Grants it will be too late for them.

DILLY
October y^e^ 7th. 1716.

We are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants.
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

COJA SEERHAUD, Assenting.
HUGH BARKER, Secretary

145. LETTER XXI[1].

To the HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES Esq^r^
President and Governor of Fort William
and Councill in Bengal.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

"We wrote your Honour &c^a^. the 7th Instant of which the Accompanying is Duplicate. The last night Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] had an opportunity to be present in private with Caundora [Khān Daurān] Sallabat Cawn [Ṣalābat Khān] being likewise there, who spake to the Nabob Concerning the Suratt house and Calcutta ground which were not fully granted in the Petition that lately came out from his Majesty desiring that if possible he would get it again signed to our satisfaction; Cawndora [Khān Daurān] ordered Seerhaud [Sarhād] to draw up another Petition immediately which He promis'd he would in a small time get Signed and See us dispatched. We are too much acquainted with his dilatory temper to beleive him entirely. So Shall not waite the coming out of these Petitions but deliver into the Duanny [*dīwānī*] those Phirds [*fards*] which have been already signed to our satisfaction that they may be going forward,

[1] This letter was read at the same Consultation as Letter XX.

and at the same time be endeavouring to get these Petitions granted. Should we particularly obtain that for the Calicutta Towns, very well, otherwise We shall make use of the Phird [*fard*] which belongs to the first or Second set, as We beleive it for the Interest of our Honourable Masters. We have no farther to add at present but that

DILLY
October y^e 11^th
1716
COJAH SEERHAUD Assent^s.
HUGH BARKAR, Sec^ry

We are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

146. THE THIRD PETITION.

THE THIRD PETITION TO FURRUKSEER [FARRUKHSĪYAR].

DILLY
October 23^rd
1^st Article

"Concerning the Grant for renting the towns near Culcutta &c^a which have been long rented by y^e Company. The Kings signing was—That, besides the three old towns, they have two more, among those they petition for, Amounting to 800 rupees—The Awfull presence, to which all people address & obtain their desires, is Exquisitely munificent, & we likewise from far are come to approach his Majesty. The Whole rent we Agree to, that has been wrote according to y^e Conningoes (qanungo's) papers. Itt is y^e Custom among Christians that in whatsoever place they have Factorys, One or two

Coarce [*kos*] all round has been made use off, for Gardens, Out house, two pass to and from during y^e^ rains; and among places rented by other Jemindars [*zamindārs*] Murder & theiving sometimes happens, Wherefore we humbly petition, that all those towns we have desired may be rented by y^e^ Company, That we may live, take our diversions, and goe and come in Safety without any other prospect off proffitt or disadvantage. Farther, by this means y^e^ Country will become more inhabited. We hope from y^e^ Kings favour that a Phirmaund [*farmān*] may be granted for those towns according to y^e^ Yearly rent—38 Towns—8121..8..3.

2 Article

Concerning the Grant off the Suratt house, which had been settled for the English to live in, from y^e^ time off Jehaun-geer [*Jahāngir*], We humbly petitioned, that we could nott repair it unless itt was given us, being att present Extremely out off order. The King signed—That Hyderacooly Caun [Haidar Qulī K͟hān] should be wrote to. In the roome off Etbar Cauns [I'tbār K͟hān's] house to look out for another for an English Factory, and write hither—Etbar Cauns [I'tbār K͟hān's] house from y^e^ time off Shaallum [Shāh Ā'lam] was given to be lived in by y^e^ Dutch, we

having nothing to doe with itt. From the time Above mentioned the Kings house has been settled for our living in, & for whose Yearly repairs we Sustain damage. We hope itt may be given us."

147. DIARY.

October 26th

"King Furruckseer [Farrukhsīyar] has forbid all forbid all Gentiles riding in Pallankeens."

October 31st

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] has had Copys of the Phirds [*fards*] with their signing by the Dwan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*]. The Suratt and Bengal Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are passed, The Madrass Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] with many other Articles waite a Second Metting"

November 9th.

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] has now confessed, that the Seaw [*siyāhah*] cannot be given, without our petitions First going to the Vizier, and receiving his perusall and Approbation"

November 10th.

"The Phirds [*fards*] were all carried to the Grand Vizier from the Duanny [*dīwānī*], who according to his kind disposition, After perusing them, Ordered the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] to carry them immediately to the King and gett them Signed, which was done accordingly. For the Vizier as is usuall making a mark to petition, so his Majesty Signed his Assent to all that those papers contained"

148 CONSULTATION.

Dilly, November 6th.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] having brought us copy off our petition signed by y^e Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*], we find itt done as much to our satisfaction as could be Expected—There still remains The Seaw [*siyāhah*] for a Phirmaund [*farmān*], & y^e orders for y^e writing Sunnods [*sanads*] for what is nott Entered therein, to be

received from y^e^ Duanny [*dīwānī*], Seerhaud [Sarhād] informs us this may be done in a small time, for which reasons we delay our advices to y^e^ Hon^ble^ President & Councill in Bengall, till matters are confirmed by y^e^ receipt off y^e^ Seaw [*siyāhah*] Above mentioned."

"The Phirds [*fards*] being come out from the King, were carried to Emenut—Ray [Amanat Rae] the Hazurenavise."

November 11th.

149. LETTER XXII.[1]

To the HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES Esq^r^.
President and Governour of Fort William
in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR

"Being under a necessity of dispatching a Cossid [*qāṣid*] account of Governour Harrison's Affairs and having a small matter of good news. I found it could not be omitted.

Our whole Petition has been signed afresh by Attesham Cawn [I'tisām Khān] about 10 days agoe as well to our purpose as could be expected, but before they could proceed any farther there was a necessity to receive the Vizier's approvall, accordingly it was carryed there yesterday, and was received very candidly but pursuant to custom must again go to the King, but that there might be no loss of time the Vizier kindly ordered the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] to carry them himself thither[2] and get them signed, which was accordingly done, so I hope now they are pretty well passed, next Follows the Vizier's Signing and then we shall get the orders for drawing up the Phirmaund [*farmān*] which as soon as received we shall Dispatch a General Cossid [*qāṣid*] with the good news, and our Monthly Accounts till when I humbly referr and remain.

Dilly.
Nov^r^. y^e^ 12th
1716.

Hon. S^r^.
Your Most devoted Humble Servant.
JOHN SURMAN."

[1] This letter was read at the same Consultation as Letter XXIII.
[2] That is, to the Kin.

150. CONSULTATION.

"The day off the Kings Jesson [*jashn*][1] coming on we shall be att a pinch for a proper present on that occasion; and there being two ffine large Looking glasses Offered to sale, Agreed that Mr. J. Surman Pay 600 Sicca Rupees for one of them and that itt be presented accordingly"

November 13th.

151. DIARY.

"Mr Surman &ca. visitted the Grand Vizier, who told Mr Surman that all our business was done. Upon which the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khālisah*] said we might have the Seaw, [*siyāhah*] and goe about the Phirmaund [*farmān*] to morrow. Att this Seerhaud [Sarhād] replyed There were a few small things nott yett adjusted, when Bokechund [Bhog Chand] went on, and said we wanted to have them in the Phirmaund [*farmān*]. To all which the Vizier kindly answered, That iff they were small they should be entered out off hand, and iff large they should be brought to him and he would sign them"

November 17th.

"The Phirds [*fards*] from Emenut-ray [Amānat Rāe] being by Boguechund [Bhog Chund] carried to Autusham Caun Duan Calsa [I'tisām Khān, *dīwān-i-khālisah*,] he was for having butt 4 Articles entered in the Phirmaund [*farmān*] According to the Kings Signing; butt by the perswasion of our Friend Bokechund [Bhog Chand] he att last Agreed to 8 Articles. After this Bokechund [Bhog Chand] Signed on the first Phird [*fard*]—According to the Books—and on the Last Made his mark. Then Emenut-ray [Amānat Rāe] dated the Phirds [*fards*], and wrote on the back—for the Secretarys office—We shall now see what Emanut-ray [Amānat Rāe] will doe for us, for itt seems Easy and Seerhaud [Sarhād] says he has promised to Change or Alter any off the middle Phirds [*fards*]. The King sett out in Formall Jesson [*jashn*] when Mr Surman &ca carried a large Looking Glass."

November 18th.

[1] *Jashn*, a solemn feast, an anniversary celebration. In this occasion the feast the 'Idu-z-zuha which feel this year on November 14

152. CONSULTATION.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] has not delivered us from the Duanny [*dīwānī*] The Seaw [Siyāhah] for a Phirmaund [*farmān*] Compleated.[1]

November 20th.

We might have Expected the Vizier in whose power itt was, would have stop'd our business on this occasion or caused many delays the Sure way to squeeze a Sum off money, which must have been very large. Butt he has behaved himself with far more generosity, Our papers no sooner reaching his hands, than they received dispatch; which encourages us to beleive he will not be hereafter troublesome.

Our business may be now properly said to have received a Good Foundation, God Grant a happy conclusion to the whole. Agreed That a perfect account be immediately transmitted to the Honourable President and Councill in Bengall.

There now remains to bring the whole into Form, and as the wording off the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] &c^a^. papers will lye in those writers hands, who are employed to draw them up; We are very well acquainted that money is the most Efficacious method that can be used; the Stinting off which would become now great Extravagance. Wherefore Agreed That Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] adjust matters with the Writers off the Secretarys office, and those off the Duanny [*dīwānī*]; That nothing may be wanting to have all prosperously concluded."

153. LETTER XXIII.[2]

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq^r^. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable United

[1]The details of the *Siyāhah*, or draft, are here given. I have omitted them as they are repeated in Letter xxiii At the end of these details comes the remark, "For these that remain there will be orders given for the writing off their Sunnods [*sanads*] in the Duanny [*dīwānī*]

[2]This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St. George on Monday the 28th January 1717, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719 No. 87 Range 239 in the India Office It is also found in the Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman etc, at the Mogul's Court, commencing the 21st. November, 1716, ending November the 16th, 1717, No. 31, Received per *Hannover* 29th July 1718 This book is catalogued at the India Office as "Letters from Mr Surman at the Mogul's

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c[a] Council in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote your Honour &c[a] the 24th Ultimo in which we particularly recounted the State of our Affairs for that time, Since which our whole Petition, after some Strugglings, received it's Notations from Attesham Caun [I'tiṣām Khān] the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khalisah*] and are as follows.[1]

Bengall free Trade	According to the Imperial Order write.
Bombay Mint	According to the Imperial Order give an Hookum [*hukm*] for the Setling a Mint.
Rogues	According to the Imperial Order write
Surat House and Ground	According to the Imperial Order, Muttasuddies [*mutasaddis*] there, that they permit them to build upon the former House, which is now granted to live in, according to the Indian Architecture likewise to buy 150 Bega's [*bighas*] of Ground to keep Ship Stores in, instead of their Garden which they had formerly without the City, and was taken in by making the Wall, in this do not hinder them
Divy Island	Write to the Muttsuddis [*mutaṣaddīs*] there to take an Obligation from the English Company for the Kings rent [Jummah][2] and grant them the Possession of that Island.

Court to the Governor and President of the Council in Bengal, 21st November, 1716, to 15th November, 1717, Home Series—Miscellaneous No 70"

[1] This is entered in the Diary on the 12th November as "Heads of the United Petition signed by the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khālisah*].

[2] Jamā, total assessment

Madrass and 'Cormandel Trade	According to former Custom that it be granted.
Calcutta Towns	According to the Imperial Order, Write. Note, this was sign'd upon the former Petition, wherein the King has permitted the Possession of all the Towns in case they are bought with owners Consent.
Vizagaptam Tomns	According to the Imperial Orders give Seaw [*siyāhah*] for the three remaining Towns.
Surat Customs	According to the Imperial Orders, give the Seaw [*siyāhah*] for a Phirmaund [*farmān*] that they take a yearly Piscash [*peshkash*] of 10,000 rupees.
Phirmaush [*farmāish*] &c[a].	According to the Imperial Orders give the Seaw, [*siyāhah*] that Phirmaush [*farmāish*] & c[a]. is pardon'd.
Plundering Goods	According to the Imperial Order act, and according to former Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] give them the Seaw [*siyāhah*] for a Phirmaund [*farmān*].
Patnah House	According to the Imperial Order write to the Duan Subah (*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*).
Madrass Rupees	According to the Imperial Orders write to the Duans [*dīwāns*], that if the Madrass Rupees equall the Surat Ones in Weight and goodness, for any Batta they must not be molested.
Muxodavad [Maqṣūdā-bād] Mint	According to the Imperial Order, write to the Duan Subah [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*].

Company's Debtors	According to the Imperial Order Write.
Madrass 5 Towns	According to the Imperial Order, write according to the custom of Allumgeer (Ā'lamgīr) it's granted.
Fort St. Davids Towns	According to the Imperial Order, write.
Sending Gomastahs [*gumāshtahs*] to the Aurungs (aurangs), with the Governr's. Dustick [*dastak*].	According to the Imperial Orders, write to the Duan that it be granted, according to the custom of Hugly.
Copy of the Phirmaund [*farmān*].	According to the Imperial Order write.
Forty Bega's [*bīgahs*] of Ground to build Factories.	Write to the Duans [*dīwān*] that where they have a mind to Settle a new Factory it be granted according to the Factories of other Places.
Hugly Durbar	Write to the Duan Subah [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*].
Ship Wrecks	According to the Imperial Order write.

Of these 22 Petitions 15 are as the King Signed at first, and the other 7 are what were re-signed, which we sent last down, so your Honour & ca. will easily Join, the King's and Duan Colsa's [*dīwān-i-khalṣah's*] Signings together, by which you may have a true Notion of the Affair. The passing of the Great Gulph was very pleasing to us, of which we shou'd have given your Honour & ca an immediate Account but being willing to see all throughly cleared from the Duanny [*dīwānī*], we proposed dispatching all at once.

After Attesham Caun [I'tisām Khān] had Signed the Papers they were ordered to be brought the Vizier, which gave us some Apprehension (as he had opportunity and Authority) that he might make some Exception, but it pleased God the Fortune

of our Honourable Masters prevailed, and the good Vizier immediately Signed and as it is customary for such Papers to be re-signed by the Imperial Hand, he considered the long stay and Expence we had been at, and ordered the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] immediately to carry them to the King, and get them passed once more, which was done accordingly at first Sight, this last was a finishing Stroke, and in our Opinion confirmed all that was granted before.

The next thing was to get an order from the Duanny [*dīwānī*] 'which they call Seaw'[1] upon the Head Secretary, who is to write the Phirmaund [*farmān*], the Vizier was pleased in our presence to it to be immediately given us, we thank God, we have received it, the following things are ordered to be entered in the Phirmaund [*farmān*] according to the Kings signing, Bengall &c^a^. free Trade, Surat Piscash [*peshkash*], Cormandel free Trade, Vizagapatam 3 Towns, Madrass Rupees, Phirmaush [*farmāish*], 40 Bega's [*bīgahs*] of Ground, Copy of the Phirmaund [*farmān*], these 8 at first appeared as allowed off by the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*], but Seerhaud [Sarhād] by means of the Duanny [*dīwānī*] Writers, brought these 5 following, Madrass 5 Towns, Calcutta 3 old, and 38 new Towns, Bombay Mint, Company's Debtors and Servants and Shipwrecks.

We are now making the proper Provision to have Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] drawn up, consisting of these 13 Articles, but as yet we have not concluded whether to have a Single Phirmaund [*farmān*] or have three, as the working of it may prove beneficial to the Interest of our Honourable Masters, that shall certainly be chosen, we hope our next will carry the Copy of it, as it is foul drawn up, and that to arrive them time enough in Calcutta to be remitted home to England by the last ship, which will without doubt be very Satisfactory to our Honourable Masters the remaining nine articles which are not entered in the Phirmaund [*farmān*], we are to receive Sunnods [*sanads*] for under the Viziers Seal, and the Secretarys of the Duanny [*dīwānī*] have orders to draw them up, these may be finished in a small time, but Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] being Subject to Several formalities, will be something longer.

[1] *Siyāhah*, a draft or rough copy.

We have received your Honour & c.[as] dated the 24[th] September chiefly in answer to ours of August 1[st] your Honour & c[as]. Opinion of what we then wrote is particularly observed, but believe that Letter was taken in the Strongest Sence, we never intended to put those Designs in Execution, without the utmost Extremity, and when no other way was left, or Composition could be made, even of effecting the half of what we petitioned for, it was this intention that made us write to your Honour & c[a] that we might be always ready Arm'd, and we do assure that easie Arguments, all the Presents you have sent, the vast Sum of money and time that have been expended on this Embassy have had very little affect on this Court, and they would have Shamm'd us off with very little, had not Hydracooley Caun [Haidar Qulī Khān] wrote from Surat, that we would directly leave that City. Thanks be to God the case is now alterd, as there is no such disease there can be no occasion for such remedies, every thing seems now upon a firm Establishment, it's true a few formalities may take up some time, but a little patience and good Bribery we hope will bring what is happily begun to a Good Conclusion.

We have observed your Honour & c.[a's] Notations upon what was formerly Signed on our Petition by the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] among which your Honour & c[a]. conceive where it is wrote, "write to the Duan Subah [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] or Phousdar [*faujdār*]", that the business is Suspended for their Judgements, whereas it is quite otherwise, wheresoever the King or Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khālisah*] has wrote so it is perfectly granted, as your Honour & c[a]. will hereafter see, when the Grants are wrote under the Vizier's Seal, they will be directed to the several Duan Subahs [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*], and those that followed them, that Such Petitions are granted.

It is certain our Stay here has been longer than could have been expected by any one, and thereby the Expence of this Negotiation much enhaunc'd, which we have endeavoured to retrench as much as possible from the very begining, we have nothing but barely what is necessary, our Account be our Witnesses and your Honour &c[a]. our Judges, wheather we have been guilty of any Extravagancies, considering the Place, the Number of Englishmen, and any attendance to make a creditable

appearance at this Court. Cojah Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] says his Allowance is too small and hopes to have an Addition to it now or at his return.

Cojah Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] Solemnly protests that he will never mingle any foreign affair with those of our Honourable Masters, if he does he must be answerable for it.

We have drawn a bill of Exchange for 2900 Sicca's, payable to Mr. James Williamson to which we desire your Honour & c. to give due Honour.

Herewith come Accounts Cash, Warehouse and Charges General and Copies of Consultations which we wish safe to your Hands, and are

Honourable Sir and Sirs

Your most humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

COJAH SURHAUD Assenting
HUGH BARKER Secretary
Dilly, November 21st 1718.

154. DIARY.

"We hear the 3 phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are done and Carried to Ecklaus Caun [Ikhlās Khān] off which Seerhaud [Sarhād] brot. us the Copys and read them over. All was as well as possible, Butt itt must be observed in the Madrass phurmaund [*farmān*]. Itt mentions we should be free, payg. 1200 pagods. On Conditions that itt had been Formerly Customary. This was the article that Caused so much delay among the Moonchys Mutsuddys [*munshis mutaṣaddīs*]. For we had no Sunnods [*sanads*] to Strengthen itt and only the King of Golcondas phirmaund [*farmān*] which is nott Esteemed here off Much consequence."

December 18th

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] made some propositions to Endeavour that Divy Island might be inserted in the phirmaunds [*farmāns*]. Butt as the thing Appears impossible to us; We shall att present take no farther notice off itt, Yett in the mean time Seerhaud [Sarhād] has free liberty to make the Experiment."

December 19th

155. LETTER XXIV[1].

"To the Honourable ROBERT HEDGES ESQ. Governr. of Fort William and President for Affair of the Honourable English East India Company & ca. Councill In Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

It is long since we troubled your Honour & ca. with a Letter of this Kind there being no great occasion for it but considering upon your Honour & ca's. frequent Orders private instructions from the beginning and our own Honour We beleive it immediately requisite to display our Companion Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] in his true Coulours, our publique Consultation Book and Diary will be found something bare on this head by reason his seeing and perusing the whole was unavoydable to let him know we were Conscious to all his Tricks and Villianies and to have pen'd them down in Publick might have made him desperate and thereby added fuel to the Flame with which he had been possessed. This has been Sufficiently remedied by our private Notations and particularly at large by the Secretary H. Barker. Twas these considerations that made us conceal from him our knowledge of his Designs, past Transactions and Behaviour being truely satisfied that the day would Come for our ample Justifications, and the Villian be suitably rewarded, to this End we shall endeavour to sum up our Allegations against him with as much particularly as our Notes memory and daily observations can instruct by entirely waving his personal deserts from us, by his continued slights and abuses, and we take this Liberty to Assure your Honour & ca. that no desire of revenge shall make us swerve from the Truth or by any feigned story to aggravate his Crimes to be punctuall in this and that you may have a perfect Notion of what we're agoing to relate, we must desire that your Honour & ca. look back on our first Arrival at this Place from which Time we Shall begin our Intended Narration. It's likewise necessary to remember the vain promises of this Gentleman that all was to be done purely by his Friends at Court alone

[1]Taken from the "Copy Book of letters received from Mr. Surman etc. at the Mogul's Court," mentioned above

which without doubt was the Greatest Encouragement for the Honourable President & c[a]. sending the Present to his Majesty giving So great a Charge to Seerhaud [Sarhād] and the Promises of so large a Reward on Conditions of Success this seemed in some measure to be Confirmed by the receipt of those good Husbullhookums [*ḥasb-ul-ḥukms*] that were sent from Court before hand, and next by the gift of our Carriage from his Majesty Upon our Arrivall at Court we dived into the mistery at once We found Seerhauds [Sarhād's] great Friends, such as Tuckerubcawn [Taqarrub K͟hān] Cawndora [K͟hān Daurān], Sallabut Cawn [Salābat K͟hān] and his Particular Friend Cojah Manour [Manavvar] turned into a simple Armenian Padree and two or three sharp Rogues to assist him who having considerably chowsed the Dutch in whose Business they were imployed had laid a design to serve us after the same manner this scheem seemed presently broken for the Padree who was their Chief discovered himself to be Such an Ass at the first few visits we were obliged to make that not we alone but Cojah Seerhaud [K͟hwājah Sarhād] himself was ashamed of him, and he who formerly extolled his Interest and Behaviour to such a prodigious height was now perfectly abashed by such a mean disappointment add to this his extraordinary sottishness in being drunk once or twice daily with his disappearance which made us suspect much more and occasioned us to make a farther Enquiry when upon the whole we found he was a very lewd debauchee so not only a shame to his gown but by his private walk to Brothells and such like places a meer Scandall to Christianity.

On the intended beginning of this Negotiation we find he has received orders from Cojah Seerhaud [K͟hwājah Sarhād] who sent him a Letter to Tuckurub Cawn [Taqarrub K͟hān], Abdoola Cawn ['Abdullah K͟hān], Hosseinally Cawn [Ḥusain 'Ali K͟hān], Meer Jumlah [Mīr Jumlah], Cawndora [K͟hān Daurān] and Cojah Manour [K͟hwājah Manavvar] to inform them that the English had a Present for his Majesty ready in Bengall: but being under Some Apprehensions of a Miscarriage in the Business we were willing to have some Security before they parted from it, that they requested to have a Husbullhookum [*hasb-ul-ḥukm*] for a free Trade in Bengall &c[a]. sent them which if granted Seerhaud [Sarhād] engaged to have the present immediately

forwarded that he would Accompany it and should have the Intire management of it himself, disposing of all at his own pleasure this project took in Some places and by the management of the Gentues with Mosnr. Martin obtained those Husbullhookms [*hasb-ul-hukm*] which your Honour & ca. received and were immediately followed by Seerpaws [*sar-o-pā*] and Goorzebudars [*gurzbardārs*] to receive and Conduct the present. Seerhaud [Sarhād] when in Calcutta had no reason to promise, that the Carriage should be given but having instructed the Padree to pursue it with this Threat the present should be forwarded on no other Conditions, The Vackeels [*wakils*] were all at a stand still by chance they feel in with Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān], Meer Jumlah [Mīr Jumlah] and Hosseinally [Husain 'Alī Khān] leaving the Court at this Juncture Cawndora [Khān Daurān] became ambitious to show his Master his abilitys our present made a great noise at that time and was the more aggrandized by the Padrees folley who according to the humour he was in avowed it to amount to 15 or 30 lack [lakh] Rupees all which he wrote in a Persian Letter he had been advised of and upon Syud Sallabut Cawns [Syyad Salābat Khān's] particular Enquiry into the truth of it he offered a note under his hand as an enforcement to what he asserted The old Syud [Sayyad] had too much sence to permit him however there was a Note given into the Consommany[1] that it amounted to Lacks which pleased Sufficiently after the Syud [Sayyad] had satisfied his avaritious Tastes with some presant bribes and a Promise of a Larger withall to have the entire management of our business he imbarked in it and by his Perswasions prevailed on Cawndora [Khān Daurān] to do the like by this means his Majesty was perswaded to give the charge of the Carriage blinded with the Prospect of so large a present at a small Expence The several Bills paid by your Honour & ca. and us with the Padree's note for 25,000 Rupees the amount kept Secret till our Arrivall were the only Friends Seerhaud [Sarhād] could get for this, and the other Concessions above mentioned, indeed we were afraid of finding larger Sums so

[1]The *Khānsāmānī*, the office or department of the Lord Steward, to which pertained all the store houses and magazines, the provisioning and supplying of the Court.

complied with this designing to Change the note which was afterwards performed, but with the Addition of more broad Cloth seeing they insisted that that note was purely for the gift of the Carriage when Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhad] first began to quarrell with this priest, we were now and then diverted in the Padree's merry moods by his reviling Seerhaud [Sarhād] with his lying Letters, scheemes and orders, particularly one which cannot be ommitted, his writing to the Padree to petition the King that he had four Years ago brought this present near Lahore for Behauder Shaw [Bahādur Shāh] whose Death interferring and Moezzudeen [Mu 'izz-ud-dīn Jahāndār Shāh] having sacrificed all his Brothers he was resolved the Murtherer of Aimuth Shawn ['Azīmu-sh-Shān] should never have the Possession of it, but that returning by the way of Suratt and from thence to Bengall, the Present was reserved for him alone. This was such a notorious lye that even the Padree himself was ashamed of.

Pursuant to your Honour[a]'s & c[as]. Orders some Time after our Arrivall we began to discourse with the Padree concerning his Account that we might know how he had disposed of the Large Sums which he had received from us the Delays that here ensued made us Conclude that said Account was then to be made up as they should think fitt among themselves. The very demanding of it put the Padree to a stand for having other Scheems in his head he designed by the frequent Management of the Business to have scotted of the Debts which his Former debauchery and Folly had led him into in this finding his Mistake he fell roundly to work on the Account as the only way to be revenged the first demand on us was for 1200 rs, which being rejected a month or two afterwards we heard to the amount of 7000 rupees and that the Account was delivered into Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād], we endeavoured by all possible Means to get Sight of it, but to no purpose telling Seerhaud [Sarhād] he would in the End be answerable for it and that the sum of 17,000 rupees could not be balanced by saying the Expence amounted to 24,000, wherefore there was no other way for his own clearance than by submitting it to examination this business at Last reached Syud Sallabut Cawn's [Sayyad Salābat Khān's] Ears, who taking notice of it said he always took the Padree for a man of Integrity

but that now since he had made such Extravagant Demands there must Certainly be a piece of Roguery in it, and as it was Impossible for him to have expended near that Sum, so instead of receiving anything he ought to be swinged the Nabob's Mutsuddy [*mutaṣadi*] Kirperam [Kripā Rām] was of the same opinion Mons. Martin took Care to let us know that Liquor and a Common Strumpet who had culled him had Carryed away best part of the monv all this when told to Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] had not the least Influence For there was no Account to be had, nevertheless the Padree being in debt some means must be found out for his Rebuf we then enquired of the Gentues that attended him and had the main hand in our business (one of whom we had then Entertained) he was attacked both with mileness and severity to discover what he know as to the Sums he could give no Account, neither did he know what Bills the Padree drew they being drawn and the Advises sent in the Armenian Language, he says he frequently advised him to give a full Account to us in Persians, as he did to Seerhaud [Sarhād] but without Effect. In this he was true for whenever any Bill came there was never any mention of (it) in Persians and only what we received from Seerhaud [Sarhād] that so much Money had been expended on such a business it is certain we hindered the Draught of greater Sums by refusing Payment to one of the First Bills. The Gentue whose name is Mittersein [Mitr Sen], informed us that what the Padree received here from his Armenian Brethren was in goods and not Specie so that as 1000 rupees was in his distress depreciated to 4 or 500 rupees ready Cash the debt with Interest and Exchange was on the Contra advanced to 1500. This was admirable dispatch, and what we Suspected to have some truth in it further he Confessed that when the Padree was in Cash there was always merry doings it being Supposed that the Gentue had given us some Information Seerhaud [Sarhād] for 6 or 8 months has neither taken notice of nor employed him in any Manner of Business altho at first-picked out by himself as the fittest Person for his Assistance we have hinted above that on the Payment of any Bill drawn by the Padree Seerhaud [Sarhād] advised us that it was on such and such an occasion among which the bill for 2000 rupees was for a pretended Present to the King during the Jesson [*jashn*]

upon Enquiry we found there was such Design on Foot a Glass being bought for 1200 rupees whose intrinsick worth was 400 rupees besides some other small things the Glass was returned being carried too late the other Particulars upon Examination of present Office we found delivered amounting to 500 rupees according to the most Extravagant Calculation. This was a blot no one could answer the next thing we took in hand was what wrote down for Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān] he was as Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] says Charged upwards 4500 rupees we received particular Information on this Head so do believe 3000 rupees to be the very outside during this Intervall the Padree threatned to go down to Bengall where he would make his demands sometimes to Suratt and sometimes complain to his Majesty C: Hocknuzzer with the plea of Charity pressed us very hard in the Padrees behalf but finding himself denyed was not a little disgusted last of all C: Phanoose [Khwājah Fānūs][1] was Esteemed the properest man to work upon us but the Padree not appearing according to appointment that was laid aside also however this man when alone some Other day discoursed on that Subject in a method very foreign to what we had formerly heard, Viz[t] something concerning Cojah Serhauds [Khwājah Sarhād's] Orders and Letters to the Padree which would have been further explained had not the Accidentall Coming of C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] prevented it whether he heard or only suspected the discourse we cannot tell but are certain he has hindered Phanoose [Fānūs] from coming any more near us, in short we have very good Information that Seerhaud [Sarhād] was liberal in his Orders to the Padree wherefore if his Account is extraordinary large he had Authority for the Expending it For the Honour of the Armenians in generall the Padree dares neither show nor publickly own it and Seerhaud [Sarhād] to screen himself frequently coaxes him with fair promises at Least, for we have been told the Padree threatens to advise the Church of it How this Affair will be Concluded we cannot judge but suppose the Orders will be at last produced and Cojah [Khwājah] Obliged to become res-

[1]Khwājah Fānūs was a painter brought from Surat to Court by Farrukhsiyar's special order. The Court Historiographer, Muhammad Aḥsam, Ijād, has a long descant on the marvels of Fānūs' pictures.

ponsible this is the State of the Case as it has hitherto reached our Knowledge and in which we have been the more particular beleiving some Day or another Seerhaud [Sarhād] will be called to Account for it.

We observed in a Letter of Instructions from your Honour & c[a]. to us that Cojah Manour [Khwājah Manavvar] is particularly recommended to have a great hand in the Management of our business wherefore we were to Comport ourselves towards him accordingly. To the Letters that were produced before your Honour & c[a] as sent from him we take this to be the fittest opportunity to unfold the Cheat Cojah Manour [Khwājah Manavvar] had never the least hand in our business neither has he been any ways capacitated during this Kings Reign He is one Thousand Munsub [*Mansab*] and Governor of the Tombs in Agra, but as he is in disgust with the Court Seldom or Never goes near it, its no wonder that Seerhaud [Sarhād] produced Letters from him seeing he had the Impudence to Confess to us that having all sorts of seals ready he could make Letters in what stile and from whom he pleased which he had often done when the Honourable President and Councill were dispirited, there are many men in the world that have been guilty of those things, but very few who have been so enormously wicked and shameless as to own and defend it.

Upon due Consideration we found the Stress of our Business at first depended on Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] which made us the more solicitous to oblige him and the old Gentleman being Jealous that we might make our Application elsewhere has kept John Surman in the best part of his own house what means did Seerhaud [Sarhād] leave unattempted for his remove affirming it not to lay in this Man's Power to Effect our Business sometimes applying to one sometimes to another of Cawndora's [Khān Daurān's] Servants without any manner of Success if we desired him to go to the Ray Rayan [Rāe Rāyān] or Nurmull [Nath Mall] whom we found to have obstructed the Business endeavouring to bring them over by Bribery he would make us fair promises but was sure to forget it when our first Petition was delivered in and by Cawndora [Khān Daurān] sent to the Duanny [*diwāni*] records to receive its remarks, we Earnestly desired Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] to take Care that what was

wrote thereon might be in our Favour, to which he made the Accustomary Answer to be sure never fear, I will do it and at the same time never took the least notice of it yet deceiving us with some Story or other till all was Spoild and then came with Excuse, How could I help it the ill Consequences of this have been long since apparent to your Honour &c[a]. Viz[t] the weightyest part of our Petition not granted, and we led in a string for 8 Months longer which we passed over with a Deal of uneasiness altho no Stone was left unturned for our Relief All the Arguments Seerhaud [Sarhād] could muster for our forsaken (*sic*) Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān] proved fruitless now asserting his Incapacity and at another Time his Roguery these delays being only designed to squeeze more money from us then again that Cawndora [Khān Daurān] wanted a Lack of Rupees we had various Schemes laid for a new Pahon [patron ?] nay he carried the matter so far as to Spend 7 days in drawing up a new Petition when nothing would Serve him but it must be delivered to Etmaund Cawn [I'timād Khān] one of the Eunuchs and from which he was not easily diswaded in fine his being so very Pragmatical in such like particulars has given us more trouble and uneasiness than Cawndora [Khān Daurān] by his delays.

The Business of Attesham Cawn [I'tisān Khān] presents itself next to our View, There Cojah [Khwājah] had a Sea of Durbar to swim in going backward and forward daily and acting just as he pleased for two or three Months together we had a Parcell of fine Stories brought us how that all was done that the Honourable Companys business was effected according to his Wish sometimes it was sign (ed) at others we should have the Papers delivered us and the Seaw [*Siyāhah*] for the Phirmaund [*farmān*] without its going either to the King Vizier or Cawndora [Khān Daurān] His daily possitiveness made us look about we were told this being contrary to all rule and Custom was impossible to be done at this Court where everything runs in its proper and Set Channell if any of these Arguments were used to him against the Probability of his Storys he would Storm fall into a Passion and to be revenged of us Neglect the Companys Business for 3 or 5 days afterwards when our Business came to a Crises in the Duanny Ketcherry [*dīwānī kachahri*] our Vackeels

[*wakils*] one of brought us the Papers as they had been signed by the Duan Colsa [*diwān-i-khāliṣah*], had not this been happily discovered God knows what farther ill Consequences might have ensued for it is Certain Seerhaud [Sarhād] would never have revealed [it] so long as his Folly had any hopes to retrive it and [in] the midst of this Affair Boguechund [Bhog Chand] the Duan Colsa's [*diwan-i-khāliṣah's*] Peescar [*peshkār*] discovered a very unsettled Carriage wherefore upon mature Consideration we found it absolutely necessary that he should be bribed the result of this was that Seerhaud [Sarhād] informed us he had made it up for 10,000 rupees but that Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*] refusing to take Note that was offered, caused us to Suspect there was not a compleat Adjustment however his Superiour obstinacy prevailed over those Fears till we received a palpable Foil and then to his Former Excuse how Could I help it they told me so the receipt of this disappointment and the Strange Carelessness of our Patron Cawndora [Khān Daurān] occasioned what we wrote your Honour & c[a]. August the 1st in which was a double Intention one to use upon the last Extremity, and the other to make Seerhaud [Sarhād] become more Subject to our Commands for altho' he might delay the business to serve his own privatey Ends or gratify his obstinacy, yet the least Tryal of disgust in the Court must Ruin him past redress how unaccountably he signed the Letter we Cannot Tell but his refusing to sign the Same to Bombay was much more unswerable this Shows the man and what little regard he has for his Word.

Your Honour & c[a]. will find by our Consultation Book what Vacqueels [*wakīls*] we brought with us from Patna which we designed should have been employed by, and received Orders from Seerhaud [Sarhād] pursuant to your Honour & c[as]. Instructions having used all possible means to accomplish the particular we found Seerhaud [Sarhād] Obstinately averse to it and altho brought to an open dispute your Honour & c[as]. Orders produced together with the absolute necessity at that Time yet Sooner than Show the Least Compliance he underwent a Protest as for orders they have always been his least Concern and for protest he did not Value fifty he has farther told us that if any Vacqueel [*wakil*] was employed he would from that moment wash his Hands Clean of the Companys Business and we might take

care of it our Selves our General affairs at that Time being in a most distracted posture we esteem it policy not to insist farther on this occasion altho in the Right but rather Comply with an Obstinate Fool than by a Longer dispute render that irrecoverable which was before in so bad a Condition however to pursue his wonted Absurditys seven days were not elapsed before he pickt out one of the Vackeels [Wakīls] himself giving him his Orders and again in a Fortnights time Could not bear the sight of him one while his block headed Armenians were made vacqueels [*wakīls*] and swore to be the fittest men and at another Time Chubdars and Kismutgars[1] went down for which there was always an Excuse ready your Honour & c^a. must suppose us men of very little or very great Spirits to suffer all this without sometimes breaking out its true we were now and then over Come but then he took Care to make us remember it and the Honourable Companys' Business was sure to pay seven days Tribute to the Villaines Revenge, in fine none of our Servants were employed in any affair of Consequence and to turn them away such a distance from home would have been great injustice as well as wrong policy for as the keeping them obliged Seerhaud [Sarhād] to be upon his guard so he knew them to be true to us and did advise of all Occurrences that Came to their knowledge every thing carried this Face till the time Came for our Papers to move towards the Duanny Ketcherry [*dīwānī kacharī*] and writing the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*], and Perwannaes [*parwānahs*] when finding himself at a stand he was obliged to call the Gentue to his assistance to make Choice of ours was to fear discovering what he wished to Continue a Secret and perfectly lay open his Indirect Practices besides your Honour & c^a. must know he mightly effects working miracles and making the plainest things appear misticall only to be unravelled by his superior Genius and Experience to supply this deficency a Gentue of his own was provided whom he employed privately but that not Serving he was obliged to choose another of a great Rank who was ordered every where as he thought fit to us he often denied it and as frequently Said he would trust none of them this touching our own Vacqueels [*wakīls*] very sensibly a heavy Complaint was

[1]*Chobdārs* and *khidmatgars*, mace-bearers and house-Servants.

made we found they had too much reason, yet as the Season was improper to take notice of it so we promised they should loos Nothing by their good demeanour and that a Time might be found to reward them which would redound much more to their Honour and Advantage By this means we pacified them who serve Chiefly for Spyes on the others Actions and in which his own Servants are of Excellent Service for it being Contrary to his nature to be good to anyone so hardly paying their wages its not likely that he should by any reward secure them to his Interest

It may not be improper to launch into the Story of the new Kirperam [Kirpā Rām], the Secret part of which is not entered in our Consultation Book this man was proposed by Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] as a Sheet Anchor and the ultimate means to effect our business with Cawndora [Khān Daurān] and that he would give us our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] & c^a. Grants signed and sealed in the Space of eight days and while this was promised with so much fire and Energy, poor Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] must be laid aside as a tool good for nothing but blotted with the Characters of Fool and Rogue. Hedera Cooli Cawn [Haidar Qulī Khān] having wrote of our design to withdraw the Suratt Settlement gave Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] an Opportunity to Speak of our Business we were of Opinion Seerhaud [Sarhād] was Convinced of this m[ans] feigned abilitys by his Countryman called Hocknuzzer who represented him as an Instrument not only Capable to effect the Honourable Companys Business but very proper to be employed in his own private Affairs. We at first Consented to the Pursuit meerly because Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] approved it, and that he might Serve to Startle Cawndora [Khān Daurān] into a better opinion of our Petition, but we were in a Short Time sensible of his small abilitys to do us any Service and that our Chief Dependance was on the Old Staff Sallabut Cawn [Salābat Khān] during this Project we were pressed to come to an Agreement of what Sum we would give in Case the Business was Effected and to Perswade us to deliver a Note, All the most possitive arguments were fetch'd that Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] had undertaken it would go thro' Stictch (sic) and was to have the Petition delivered him for Examination with abun-

dance of such idle Stor(i)es, our Judgements were not to be wronged with appearances especially after so much Experience of the Person who gave the recommendum instead of the promised despatch of 8 days 6 weeks were elapsed without so much as receiving the Petition from Cawndora [Khān Daurān] nay when the matter Came in dispute and the Concessions were made by the means of Sallabut Cawn [Ṣalābat Khān] he was not only absent but had just before declared he would have nothing to do in our Business till the Papers were Signed nevertheless Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] as obstinately as ever asserted all to be done by Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] and that he would stop it till he was satisfied which brought us to the resolution mentioned in our Consultation Book September the 17 as this was to no purpose so the Close Viz^{t}. that the Phirds [*fards*] signed by the King should be delivered to him was more false than the rest, they being by Cawndora [Khān Daurān] Ordered to be opened in the Presence of Syud Sallabut Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān] after that we lay quiet for some time but expecting a Storm from that Quarter we Soothed him and promised him a handsome Present for the Services he has done us altho he himself had not been so punctuall to affect all by his own means these Overtures proved insufficient, for we were told he expected 10,000 rupees Affirming that he had done all and insinuations were made that in Case of our non Compliance he might feign Letters from Hydera Cooli Cawn [Ḥaidar Qulī Khān] which might have quite different Effects from the former Upon Enquiry we found these Storys perfectly Contrived to get a Large Sum of Money from us not so much for the Sake of our Honourable Masters as for the Airy Scheems of Seerhauds [Sarhāds] own Voyage to England this is the true State of the Affair at present what may be the Conclusion shall be duely advised hereafter.

We have just touched in our Consultation Book on the Projects of Cojah Seerhauds [Khwājah Sarhād's] going to England and there buying rarietys for the King of Indostan as for our private Letters they may have made frequent mention of it its now our duty to disclose without reserve what we know of this his dealing (?). Two Years have been a Continued Series of this light discourse what the King had promised e're

we arrived at Court his Character to the King of England and what Voyages he was to make in Europe with a long List of Raritys to be provided and the great profits to be raised on that Account add to this many other Favours which he had to desire here. This Relation was doubled (sic) to all the Courtiers and Eunuchs in the City with the hopes that some lucky Chance might carry it to the Kings Ear however being disappointed he drew the whole Scheem up in writing but would never Show us the whole having seen the Rarietys that are Contained therein we Shall repeat them as near as occurs to our memory Viz[t]. a Throne and Chair of Amber, A Throne and Chair of Chrystall, fine large glass cont[g]. very Large looking Glasses China Tiles sufficient for a Palace a Mill to coin Money costing 20,000 rupees which goes without fire or other trouble and the workmen to be brought with him, to bring Founders who shall recast all his Majestys heavy Artillery to greater Advantage and Easiness of Carriage to cast Mortars and their Shells bringing Ingineers with them these are the Chief Articles of his proposition besides many other small rarieties which the King may desire and as the prosecution of this affair will require a round Sum of ready Cash so he expected an order for the Receipt of the Hughly Customs and other orders on all Europeans for the Transportation and the English in particular for his return Seerhaud [Sarhād] upon his Arrival here finding his project for such specie would fail raised another that might Serve his turn. The having a Present Sent to the King of England and Company of Traders with Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] mentioning Seerhaud [Sarhād] to be the Kings royall Merchant bound to England where he was to buy him rarieties and that if any of those Goods were prohibited by our Laws they should be dispensed with on this Occasion he received Liberty to return and bring the above mentioned rarietys with him on any of our Ships this is an abstract of what he showed us and is entered in our Consultation of July the 9th when We wholy rejected it as having no Orders nor Authority from your Honours & c[a]. for our Compliance we have since received animadversions from your Honour & c[a]. on that head which were duly explained to him at which time putting on a Self denying Countenance he protested never to address the King or incumber our Honouable Masters affairs

with his own this we know to be notoriously false seeing we are thus moment Satisfied he pursues it and has delayed the Generall Affair purely on that Account he is frequently so vain as to tell us he is in daily Expectation the King would send for him since he is sure his Majesty is so much delighted with his Propositions that more than he can wish will be granted and then (Says he) you'll find what you have lost by not coming in with my designs of aggrandizing the English Nation and Company nay I am afraid the Governour and Council will force me to it at last and in the mean time you have *neither Power nor means to prevent* it we have hitherto found nothing Substantiall going forward all continues Wind Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] was the last Ingineer whom we now find succeeded by Sallaly Cawn [Jalāl Khān] this man is to prevail on Etmaud Cawn the Chief Coj:[1] to hatch his unnaturall birth to which end the Sum of 6000 rupees has been proposed. The Cawn [Khān] is a perfect Mogull and the Coj. [khojah] as true a Courtier wherefore till we see it done there is no Credit to be given and as yet it is not began we shall not want Advices and endeavour the Prevention should it prove the old Story nothing being Certain than that the Consequences will carry more stings than appear at Present

On the presenting our first petition Seerhaud [Sarhād] was very uneasy that we would not ask for 12,000 rupees in new Towns the Event has proved us in the right but his Superlative Obstinacy will never Submit to Conviction he drew up a Petition wherein he desired the remaining 4000 rupees for himself besides all those which belong to Sultan Mahmud who he said was dead this Project delayed our Generall Affair some time he waiting with great Uneasiness an Answer to his Letter which he wrote Concerning that Zemidar's Ground (?) we Suppose this Petition is to attend the other and is as likely to meet with success.

Your Honour & c^{a}. upon Seerhaud [Sarhād's] leaving Calcutta, gave a Considerable Sum to supply him with Apparell fit to make a handsome Appearance and suitable to his Character besides an handsome Monthly Allowance for his attendance & c^{a}. Expences to what use he has and does put this money we are still igonorant, but for Cloths he has none that are tollerable

[1] I'timad Khān, the chief khojah or eunuch.

the Seerpaw [sar-o-pā] which he has received being Excepted and as they are known by their Scantiness so it is very mean to wear them in fine he has been so entirely Scandalous in his Appearance as has been a Shame to us all nay our common Vacqueels [*wakils*] make a much better, his monthly Allowance is managed with the Same Penurious Hand he keeps not half the number of servants and these so hardly paid as few Continue with him 2 Months together. We have made a near Enquiry into his Monthly Expences where we find according to the most Extravagant Calculation they Cannot Exceed 500 rupees. Yet to us with a Prodigious Assurance he affirms that he Spends 1500 rupees and that he has a long Account to demand because the Batta of the Rupees could not be excused him, he has refused to receive his allowance threatening with much bitterness to draw bills on your Honour & c^a^. to receive Interest from the time his money became due with these and many such strange obstinate Humours does he daily plague us Occasions so very small and insignificant that any man of Spirit would be ashamed off he has got another very pretty way of perplexing the Cause and raising difficultys out of nothing Alliban Sultan and Rustums Affair at Surat was suposed would do us much mischief the business of Hossein Amidan and the Danes was to risque the Success of the Present affair we were told what Complaints were made to the Vizier and Orders obtained on Jaffer Cawn [Ja'far Khān] & c^a^ but were so happy as to hear of it from no other hand however on the least offer to dispute Seerhaud [Sarhād] became enraged and imputed all to our Ignorance besides all this we were frightned with Hobgoblin Stories of M^rs^. Woodvill Captain Penuce's Banyan Sultan Surgan and one more who would Complain against us here with the great Trouble and risque we should run on these accounts his Vain Lying is as bad the other way for besides his Voyage to England Sweden and Denmark he is after receipt of our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] & c^a^. Grants to make them first Current in Bengall then to proceed to Bombay and Surat and afterwards to Madras in all which places he is to do the like giving the Hon^ble^ Company possession of Divy the whole to be Compleated before his departure for Europe may he asserts that in Case he does not undertake it the Grants will be of no manner of use there not being another Man

In India who is Capable to perform it he Frequently tells us what great Favour he may expect from his Majesty in a Few days how the King is to call for him in the Publick Duan [*dīwān*] and how great they are to be all Lyes forged that very minute so light and vain that we are even ashamed to repeat them yet are his daily practice in discourse.

His pretended Knowledge of the Court and its Customs without being really acquainted with the least Title has been very prejudiciall to our Affairs and we as often deceived as ever we trusted to it He never took the least Care to oblige the Mier Toosein[1] or his Assistance who are present before his Majesty which very much lessened the notice that might have been taken of us and laid us open to Insults which never happened when we took Care of it our Selves.

What proves most grievous to us is his frequent protestations never to take the least notice of any orders that may Come from your Honour &c^a^. or any other Settlement nay not only to profess but Actually to be as good as his Word as for us he has very little Uneasiness, will tell only what he pleases and take our Advice as he thinks fitt.

These things added together we think picture out a man truely discharged from his Conscience Honour and Religion with the fear of Punishment for all which he has got some Convenient Logicisms for Religion and Conscience he believes every man receives his Reward and punishments in this world so no Fear of futurity For honour and a good repute that is as you shall conceive it saying all the world is alike outward show excepted and for the Fear of Punishment he ballances all by saying if our business Succeeds your Honour &ca will never make an Examination into his or any one's behaviour if we fail then he for Persia and we where we please.

It may be wondered in so long an Accusation that we have not described his embezzling any of our Honb^le^ Masters money or goods he has had but very Little opportunity but we believe he would not have Stuck at this could he have found a Companion in his Villany now is the time of bribing with ready money so if he has any such designs this is the Season to effect

[1] The *mīr tozak*, i.e., the master of the ceremonies or chamberlain.

it however he can do nothing considerable, but it must reach our Ears and we shall note it down in a very particular manner.

Fearing we have by our prolixity trespassed to much on Your Honour &[cas] patience We shall not decend to farther Particulars but only make some general Remarks It is Certain Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] was furnished with abilities sufficient to do much good among which was his Knowledge of the different Interests of our Honble Masters and what was wanting for the benefitt of trade in India So our Petitions owe their Composing chiefly to him but that all is all the advantage that can be possibly reapd from Seerhaud [Sarhād] He can never answer our Honourable Masters intentions as Vacqueel [*wākil*] in these parts notwithstanding the vast Charge they have and will be at on his Account for that Business is purely appropriated to the Gentues without whom nothing is to be done However he has been so far from owning this opinion that bigotted to his own knowledge pretended Experience and distrust of their honesty he fell into uncommon roads and where (he) Continued through obstinacy till there remained not say glimpse of Success at least without a prodigious expence All must carry a deep Face of policy and 5 days protracted to 15 to the make plainest things intricate without any visible amendment but these have frequently savoured to deceit he having Sold our Honourable Masters to make the greater improvement of their Allowance We are perfectly unacquainted with the good he has done in Generall but do not question he has taken Care to call every thing his own and stand fast to the Old maxim alls well that ends well be it attained at any rate.

We humbly appeal to your Honour &c[a] for Justice and desire considering (what) we must have all undergone for above these two Years what advantages lost by not having those opportunitys of trade to which our Service entitle us and otherwise what the least of us would have enjoyed had not we Come on this occasion besides the great Expence we have been obliged to be at outt of our own Pocketts for apparell &c[a] [at] this dear Court and without which we should have made but indifferent Representatives of our Country in so pompous an Assembly So much going out of one hand and so little coming into the other will make a Ballance on the wrong side of our Stock if not reimbursed

by your Honour &c[a] as well for our Loss of Time as for Expences and Insted of Cojah Seerhauds [Khwājah Sarhād's] Leck of Rupees the only reward we want is that your Honour &c[a] are satisfied with our behaviour and will give us a pla [udit] as good Actors which being what we hoped for has encouraged [us to] pursue this negotiation thro' so many troublesome tra (cks) and windings now So near its desired End, Got grant that all may be concluded to the Glory and Honour of our Nation and Interest of our Masters are the hearty desires of.

Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient Humble Servants

Transcribed by THOMAS MOORE
Examined by JOHN DIX
Dilly
December 20th 1716

JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON
HUGH BARKER
THOMAS PHILLIPS."

156. DIARY.

December 25th "This being Christmasday an Entertainment made for all the Christians in the Court."

157. CONSULTATION.

"The King has ordered his Tents out off the City, and gives out that he proceeds to them himself tomorrow with an intention to hunt As yett we see no absolute necessity to Follow him and thereby Enhance our Expences, butt having Tents and Camells ready Agreed that they be sent out, And what small addition of Servants are necessary that they be taken in."

December 27th

158. LETTERS XXV[1].

"To the Honourable ROBERT HEDGES ESQR.
Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &c[a] Council in Bengall.

[1]This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St. George on Monday the 4th March, 1717, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consulta-

"HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

Our last to your Honour &c[a] was the 21st Ult: we were in hopes much sooner than this to have repeated the Good News but the Strange dilatoriness that attends all manner of business here has kept us also at a Snails Pace, so that we fear the present Cossids [*qasids*] will not be able to reach your last Europe dispatches, however the three Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] for Bengall Madrass and Surat, being drawn up in the Secretary's Office and approved of by the Meer Monchoo,[1] by whom they were sent in to his Majesty for his Approbation likewise, we have taken Copies thereof and now send them for your Honour &ca[s] . Perusal, it being already finished by all the under Muttsuddies [*mutasaddis*] we are under no Apprehensions of any Alterations to our Disadvantage. As soon as it pleases God that they come out Signed by his Majesty, we shall take care to dispatch the Good news with the greatest Expedition, but not expecting it to reach the Bengall Shipping, we do at this time dispatch the same good news with Copies of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] to the Honourable the President and Council of Bombay, in hopes that a Conveyance may be met with from that Quarter So soon as these Papers come out approved by his Majesty they will be wrote over fair, then carried to the Vizier for his Seal, and lastly to the Office where they will receive his Majesty's great Seal.

The Duanny [*diwāns*] Sunuds are all wrote over fair, but not yet Signed by the Duan Colsa [*diwān-i-khalisah*], we don't remit their Copies, besides their not being of so great Consequence.

The Kings Tents are gone out of the City to morrow is the day appointed for his Majesty to follow them the report is he goes to Hunt where he went last Season, this will add something the natural delays of this Court, but the seeming good Posture of our Affairs at present give us courage to pursue a Glorious Conclusion with our Accustomary Patience.

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tion Book for 1715 to 1719, No 87, Range· 239 in the India Office. It also occurs in the "Copy Book of letters received from Mr Surman etc at the Mogul's Court" mentioned above, I O , Home Series. Miscellaneous No 70.

[1]The *mir munshi*, i e , the person charged with drafting formal letters and commands

November 29th came to hand your Honour &ca's. of date October 30th with the enclosed Paragraphs of a Letter from Fort St. George, we find the Strange Slowness of our Cossids [*qaṣids*] has occasioned your Honour &c[a] to be longer in those melancholly Apprehensions than a reference to our Dispatches since that time for better news.

Four Months are now elapsed Since Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] refused to take his monthly Allowance, by reason he would not suffer to be cut on Allumgeery [*Ā'lamgīri*] rupees, yet lately he has received his money and we have agreed to refer this Affairs to the Decision of your Honour &c[a].

John Surman having paid the Sum of twenty Seven thousand Siccas *into the* Honourable *Company's* Cash *Account the* Honourable Edward Harrison Esqr. we have given him a Bill of Exchange the 22nd. Inst. payable to the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq[r]. and Mr. Henry Frankland which we hope your Honour &c[a] will duely Honour.

Enclosed comes Accounts Cash, Warehouse and Charges General with Copies of Consultations for the last month.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Dilly Dec[r]. 27[th] 1716. Your Most obedient humble Servants"

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

The foregoing is Copy of what we wrote your Honour &c[a] Yesterday The Cossids [*qaṣids*] that carried it are just now returned, being plundered of their Letters &c[a] by some Mewatties about 15 Coss off this Place, for which reason not to delay them any longer we immediately dispatch them again, and do enclose other Copies of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] which we hope will meet with better fortune Copies of our Accounts &c[a]. we hope to dispatch in a few days, with the Good news of the Kings having approved the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*].

We are, Honourable Sir and Sirs
Dilly Dec[r] 28th 1716. Your most obedient humble Servants
COJAH SEERHAUD assenting JOHN SURMAN
H. BARKER Secretary. EDWARD STEPHENSON."

159. LETTER XXVII[1].

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote your Honour &c[a]. the 27th enclosing Copies of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] Account &c[a] of which the Cossids [*qaṣids*] being Plundered we dispatcht a Duplicate with another sẹt of Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] the 28th of both which the foregoing are copies.

This chiefly Serves to impart the Good news to which we your Honour &c. received last night from the Camp by Cojah Surhaud [K͟hwājah Sarhād], that the King had Signed the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] which came out sometime yesterday. That ten of the Sunnods [*sanads*] are Signed by the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-k͟hālisah*] and sent to the Visier for his Seal, the others which remain are expected to be in the same forwardeness a few days hence.

Enclosed comes Account Cash, Warehouse Charges General and copies of the Consultations, all which were before lost, with both copies of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*].

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Dilly Dec. 31st. 1716.
C. SEERHAUD
HUGH BARKER, Secry.

160. DIARY.

January 3rd, 1716/17

"Mr. Surman &c[a] went to the Camp, and Salamed to the King upon his March to Polta.[2] Syud Caun Jaun[3] was dispatched hence to Assist against

[1]Read at the same Consultation as Letter XXV

[2]Mirzā Muhammad says Farruk͟hsīyar started on the 7th January 1717 N S (27 Dec 1716 O S) and camped at Musjid Mochiyat Polta probably is meant for Pālam, a small place about 12 miles S W of Dilhi, to which Kāmwar K͟hān says the expedition proceeded It figures in the saying which satirized the pompous titles of the emperors in their decadence *Shāh-i-a'lam*, az Dilhī tā Pālam—"Lord of the World as far as Palam "

[3]Sayyad Muzaffar K͟hān Bārhah, maternal uncle of 'Abdullah K͟hān the vizier, had lately been created Sayyad K͟hān Jahān, The date of his despatch according to the Persian historians was the 30th Muharram 1129 H. *i e*, 3rd Jan 1717 He had been summoned from Ajmer where he was governor He died while in charge of the Dilhi Ṣūbah on the 12th Shawwal 1132 H *i e*, 6th August, 1720

the Jaats, and Naar Caun[1] to Bring Raja Adjetseen to Court."

161. THE THREE FARMANS.

"A Translate off three Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] Granted to the Right Honb[le] English East India Company for a free trade by Furruckseer [Farrukhsīyar] King off Indostan.

Dilly, January 1716/17

162. BENGALL BEHAR AND ORIXA

To all Governours and their Assistants, Jaggeerdars [*jagīrdars*] Phowsdars [*faujdārs*], Corrorys [*krorī*],[2] Guards on y[e] roads & rivers and Jemidars [*zamīndārs*], off y[e] Subaships off Bengall, Behar and Orixa, that Are att present and shall be hereafter, The Port off Hugly &c[a] ports off these Subaships. Lett them live always in hopes off the Kings Favour, and by these presents know That att this time off conquest and being conquerour· Mr. John Surman and Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] Factors to y[e] English Company have humbly petitioned to the throne off Justice that according to y[e] Nishaun [*nishān*] off him who is pardoned and has power in heaven, pleased with y[e] Love off God, The Saintlike King who is in heaven The will off God is great and so is y[e] word, (Azzimuth Shaun) ['Azīmu-sh-shān][3], & Sunnods [*sanads*] formerly received, Custom is pardoned the English Company, the port off Suratt Excepted. In y[e] port

[1]Nāhdr Khān was believed to have great influence with Ajīt Singh The rajah had employed his good offices three or four years before in securing terms from Husain 'Alī Khān when Mārwār was invaded Apparently he was a Shekhzādah of Hānsī He was sent a *faujdār* of Sāmbhar and *dīwān* of Ajmer on the 29th Safar 1135 H *i.e.*, 28th November 1722 Shortly afterwards he was basely murdered with twenty five others by Ajīt Singh on the 29th Rabi 'I 1135 H *i e*, 27th December 1722 and his camp was plundered

[2]*Krori*, the *Fāmil-guzār* of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (II, 43 Jarrett), a collector of revenue, subsequently styled *krorī*, see H M Elliot, "Supplemental Glossary," p 235 *s v* Croree, "Guards on ye roads and rivers" represent *rāhdārs* and *guzārbans* of the Persian original

[3]That is, the Emperor's father

off Hugly a peeshcash [*peshkash*] off 3000 Rs. is paid into y^e Kings treasury in lieu off Customes. They petition that according to former Sunnods [*sanads*] they may be favoured with y^e Kings Phirmaund [*farmān*]. The universall Commander gives this particular order which y^e world Obeys "That all goods and necessary which their Factors off the Subaships, ports and round About, bring or carry away Either by land or water, Know they are Custom free, That they buy and Sell att their pleasure. Take the Accustomary 3000 Rupees and demand no more on Any Account and Iff att any time or place their Goods should be stole, Endeavour to find them out, punishing the theif and returning them to their due owner, and In their Settling Factorys att any place, their Goods and Necessarys, buying and Selling, Lett them be assisted according to Justice, That iff any Merchants Weavers or others become Debtors, they pay their Factors their due according to a Just Account, nott suffering any one to hurt or Injure said Factors, and for the Customes on Wood [Cutborrah] &c^a that no one molest their boates or those hired by them. They Still petition the Clean [clear ?] high and lofty throne That in y^e Subaships and Duannys [*dīwānīs*] The Originall Sunnods [*sanads*] are demanded, and that others be given thereby Itt is nott Feasable to produce y^e Originalls in Every place We desire that a copy under y^e Cozzys [qazī's] Seal be allowed off, y^e originalls nott being demanded, nor we forced to receive others thereby from y^e Subah, In Culcutta there is a settled Factory off the Companys. The renting off Culcutta, Sootalooty, and Govindpore In y^e Pergunnas Ameerabad &c^a in y^e Subaship off Bengall, bought from y^e Jemidars [*zamīndārs*], was formerly granted them 1195-6 the Yearly rent being paid into the Kings treasury. They desire that 38 towns, rent 8121-8 near those Abovementioned may be granted them and that the yearly rent be duly paid into y^e treasury. The most Just order is given That the copy under y^e Chief Cozzys [*qazīs*] Seal be Sufficient. That the towns already bought doe remain in their possession according to former Custom, and that the renting off y^e Adjacent towns is granted, they being bought from y^e Owners, and then permission given by the Subah and Duan [*dīwān*]. They Farther petition that from y^e reign off Allumgeer [Ā'lamgīr]

The Treasurys off other Subaships take discompt upon Siccas made att Madrass. The Silver off those Rupees is now the same with that off Suratt, by which they Sustain loss. They desire y[e] Kings Order may be given that in case y[e] Coin is off the same fine(n)ess with that off Suratt and other places, they be nott troubled for any discompt. Iff any off y[e] Company's Servants become Debtors, and Endeavour to run away, to See them delivered to y[e] Chief off y[e] Factory, and By reason off Customes off Phowsdarry [*faujdārī*] &c[a] that is forbid The Companys Gomastoes [*gumāshtahs*] and Servants are very much troubled, please to pardon itt. The Imperiall order is strictly given, That from the 5th Year off this Glorious reign[1] iff the Silver coined att Madrass be as good as that coined att the Port off Suratt doe nott demnd any discompt, and whomsoever off y[e] Companys Servants being Debtors want to run Away that they be Seized and delivered to y[e] Chief off the Factory. For that which is forbid (abob Memnoowa) (*'abwāb-i-mamnū'ah*) Phowsdarry [*faujdārī*] &c[a] doe nott molest them for itt They likewise petition That y[e] Company having Settled Factory in Bengall Behar and Orixa doe design to Settle others and accordingly desire that in any place where a Factory shall be appointed 40 beagues [bīgahs] off Ground be Granted from the King for that use That att Sometimes Ships are Obliged by Storms and winds to run Ashore and are wreckt. The Governours off ports injuriously Seize upon y[e] Goods and att some places demand y[e] fourth part. In the Island Off off Bombay belonging to y[e] English European Coin is Currant, That according to ye Custom off Madrass they may coin Siccas. The Order which all ought and doe obey is given. That according to ye Custom off other Factorys in other Subaships Execute itt. That these people have dealings at all ports and att this Court having very favourable Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] Granted in which Custom is execused. Take particular Care off all wrecks and goods so lost by Storm belonging to them, and In ye Island off Bombay iff the Siccas be coined According to ye Siccas off Indoṣtan Lett them pass Currant."

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[1]The 5th year began on the 1st. Rabi 'I, 1128 H, equivalent to the 13th February, 1716 O.S

To all these grants according to this Phirmaund [*farmān*] which is Enlightned, "Obey forbear and forbear to act countrary to ye Imperiall and Strict order, Nor Every Year demand a New Sunnod [*sanad*]. Off this take particular Notice—The 4th day off Suffur "[*Safar*].—God has finish with Glory & Success—In ye 5th Year off this Glorious Reign[1]".

HYDERABAD [HAĪDARĀBĀD].

"To All Governours &ca Jaggeerdars [*jāgīrdārs*], Phowsdars [*faujdārs*], Currorys [*krorīs*], To All Guards by land and water; To all Jemindars [*zamīndārs*], who are and shall be hereafter off the Subaship of Hyderabad [Haīdarābād], Be always in hopes off the Kings favour and by these presents know that att this time off conquest and being ,Conquerour Mr. John Surman and C. Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] Factors to ye English Company by ye. meanes off the Approachers off that throne whose foundation is as Stable and unmoveable as the firmament, have made their petition to the Clean, high, and Lofty presence. That in the whole Subaship off Hyderabad [Ḥaīdarābād] the Companys trade is Custom-Free, and Att Chinapatam [Madrass] They pay 1200 Pagodas yearly into ye Kings treasury, Deisre to have itt according to Custom, and that they be favoured with the Kings Phirmaund [*farmān*] for itt. According to ye Kings books itt is known, and is petitioned for, That they pay ye Above-mentioned Summ into ye Kings Treasury. The order which all doe and ought to obey is strictly given That according to former Custom doe, That all Goods and necessarys off their Factorys att ye ports off the Subaship, and round About be brought and Carryed Away Either by land or Water: Know that ye Custom is pardoned. That they buy and sell att their pleasure. Att Chinapatam according to Custom take 1200 Pagodas, besides this demand no more on Any Account. Iff "att any time or place Any off the English Goods are lost, Use your Endeavour to find them punishing ye Robber

[1]The 4th Safar of the 5th year, 1129 H, corresponds to 7th January 1717 O S The same date is given in Fraser "Nadir Shah," p. 53 In the Orme collections one *farmān* is dated 27th Muharram or seven days earlier.

and returning y^e Goods to their true Owner. In their Settling Factorys att all places, In their Goods and necessarys, buying and Selling, You Assist them on all just accounts and Iff any Merchants or Others become Debtors, According to a true adjustment pay their Factors their due, and nott Suffer any one to hurt or Injure Said Factors. They also petition for the Imperiall Assent That in y^e war off Chingee [*Jinjī*] 5 towns were given y^e Company As A Gratuity by King Aurungzebe for Conveying off Ammunition and provisions into y^e Kings Camp, Purwatore &c^a, which they possessed for a long time. Itt is now 3 Years Since the Kings officers have retaken possession. In this Glorious Reign att y^e time off the pretender According to the Imperiall order they Assisted Zeaudy Caun [Zeyau-d-dīn-Khān] att y^e port off Hugly with ammunition &c^a using their utmost Endeavours They doe petition The towns may be returned to their possession as formerly. This miraculous and Grand Phirmaund [*farmān*] is Granted. That According to y^e Custom off Allumgeer [Ā'lamgīr] The possession be given them. They likewise petition to those who stand on y^e Footstep off ye sublime throne, That att y^e port off Vizagapatam there is a Settlement off the Companys. Vizagapatam and 4 towns more are Near the Factory for which they pay yearly Rent 4862 Rupees According to the Ancient rites into y^e treasury off Cittacole [Sīkākol]. Among the Above-towns The too far distant Villages off Purwanna and Woodapondee whose rent is 900 Rs. they desire may be returned. The Imperiall Order is given That 3 off ye 5 towns continue, 2 off which, being deducted, they deliver up They likewise petition that in y^e Subaships and Duannys [*dīwānīs*] they demand y^e Originall Grant, and to give another thereby, Itt is nott feasable to produce y^e Originall in Every place. They humbly desire that a Copy under y^e Cozzys [*qāzīs*] Seal be Sufficient, without demanding y^e Originall, and that Neither the Subah nor Duan [*dīwān*] insist to give another thereby. European Coin is Currant in y^e Island off Bombay which belongs to y^e English. That Rupees be coined According to y^e Custom off Madras That whoever off y^e Companys Servants becoming Debtors Endeavour to runaway, they be Sent to y^e Chief off the Factory, and For Phowsdarry [*faujdārī*] &c^a which is forbidden (Abob

Memnoowa) [*abwāb-i-mamnū'ah*][1] by which the Factors and dealers with ye Company are troubled, be repealed. The Order which ye world Ought and does Obey is given That ye Copy under ye Cheif Cozzys [*qāzīs*] Seal is Sufficient, That in ye Island Off Bombay Siccas made according to those off Indostan pass Currant—That whosoever off the Companys Servants being Debtors, want to run away; Seize and deliver them to ye Cheif off ye Factory, and That for what is forbidden (Abob Memnoowa) "*abwāb-i-mamnū'ah*], no one trouble them They have farther petitioned to those who stand on ye steps off the throne which the Kings presence Graces, That ye Siccas coined Att Chinapatam are discompted in ye treasury off other Subaships. The Silver coined there att present is as good as what Coined att ye Port off Suratt, which occasions a great loss Please to order that iff they are Standard and as good as those off Suratt and Other places; no discompt be taken. That in Bengall, Behar, Orixa, Chinapatam, Vizagapatam &ca The Company have Factorys Settled and are willing to appoint others They petition that 40 beagues [bīgahs] off Ground may be given to Enclose a house in any place where they shall make a Settlement, And as Ships are Sometimes obliged by Storms and wind to run Ashore, and are wreckt. The Governours off Ports injuriously seize on ye Goods and In some places demand a Fourth part. The Imperiall Order is given—That from ye 5th Year off this Glorious Reign, Iff ye money coined Att Chinapatam be off the same weight and fineness off those off the port off Suratt, doe nott molest them for ye discompt. According to ye Custom off other Factorys grant. This nation has dealing in all ports and att this Court, having very favourable Phurmaunds [*farmāns*] Granted in which Custom is Excused Take particular care of all wrecks, and Goods, so lost by storm, belonging to them.

To All these orders obtained in this Phirmaund [*farmān*], which ought to be Adored, render Obedience, and not Every Year demand A New Sunnod Off this take particular notice—

[1]There were long lists of these "prohibited imports", for examples see note 2 on page 221, *Faujdārī* means here various market dues, ferry fees, and so forth levied by the *faujdārs* and not by the revenue officers.

The 4th day off this Mo Suffur [*Safar*] God has finished with Glory and Success—In the 5th Year off this Glorious Reign.

AMADAVAD [AHMADĀBĀD].

To all Governours &c^a^ Jaggeerdars [*jāgīrdārs*], Phowsdras [*faujdārs*], Corrorys [*kroris*] To all Guards by Land and water, To all Jemidars [*zamīndārs*], who are att present and shall be hereafter In the Subaship off Amadavad [Ahmadābād], The fortunate port off Suratt and Cambay—Be always in hopes off the Kings favour and know by these presents That att this time off conquest which carrys y^e^ Ensign off victory Mr. John Surman and C. Seerhaud [Kh̲wājah Sarhād] Factors to y^e^ English by y^e^ means off those who stand on the Steps off the throne which y^e^ Kings presence graces have made their petition. That y^e^ Custom on Goods off Englishmen is Excused all Over this Kingdom, Except att y^e^ fortunate port off Suratt, and att Said Port from y^e^ time off him who is pardoned and has power in heaven, The King who is an Inhabitant off the heaven off heavens God grant his resting place be there and there he remain pure (Sha Jehaun) per Cent was y^e^ Settled Custom, and in y^e^ time off him whose Strength is devine the Saint-like inhabitant off heaven. Be good from y^e^ present to Eternall happiness (Aurangzebe) 3½ per cent was Settled, being Excused in all other places, In y^e^ time off the King who is pardoned and whose resting place is heaven Surrounded with y^e^ favour off God, who is gott in possession off heaven as his first Stage—God protect His Spiritt (Behauder Sha) 2½ per Cent was att last Settled, continuing to this time. That Factory by reason off y^e^ Oppression off the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣadīs*] there has been withdrawn these 3 Years. In y^e^ Subaships of Behar and Orixa no custom is paid, Att y^e^ port off Hugly in y^e^ Subaship off Bengall, A peeshcash off 3000 rupees is paid instead off Custom They petition that according to y^e^ rule off Other ports, A peeshcash may be Settled att Suratt instead off Customes. They Assent to y^e^ payment off a Yearly peeshcash off 10,000 rupees—The order which all, doe and ought to obey is Strictly given, That Since they consent to pay a peeshcash of 10,000 rupees, Take

itt yearly in ye port off Suratt, and besides this, molest them on no Account. The Goods and necessarys off their Factors Att The ports off this Subaship and round About, to bring and carry away by land and Water, Know ye Custom is pardoned. That they buy and sell Att their pleasure, and iff att any time or place any off their Goods are lost, Use your endeavour to find them punishing ye Robber and returning the goods to their true owner Att any place Where they Settle a Factory, Buy and Sell, That you Assist them on all Just occasions and Iff any Merchants or others become Debtors According to a true Adjustment give the English Factors their due nott Suffering any one to hurt or injure Said Factors, They Also petition that in ye Subaships and Duannys [*dīwānīs*] they demand ye Originall Grant, and that the Subahs and Duans [*dīwāns*] give us another thereby, Itt is nott feasable to produce ye Originall in Every place wherefore humbly desire that a Copy under ye Cozzys [*qāzīs*] Seal be sufficient, Originall not demanded, nor ye Subah nor Duan [*dīwān*] insist to give Another thereby. In ye Island off Bombay belonging to ye English European Coin is Currant, That rupees Be made there according to those coined Att Madrass, That, whosoever off ye Companys Servants becoming Debtors endeavour to run away, be sent to ye Cheif off the Factory, & That Phowsdarry [*fāujdārī*] &ca forbidden (abob Memnoowa) [*abwāb-i-mamnū'ah*] by which ye Companys Factors and Dealers Are molested, be repealed. The Imperiall Strict order is given, That ye Copy Under the Chief Cozzys [*qāzī's*] Seal is sufficient, In ye Island off Bombay Siccas made as those off Indostan to pass Currant To Seize and deliver to ye Cheif off ye Factory whomsoever off the Companys Servants that are Debtors and run away & That no one trouble them for what is forbidden (Abob Memnoowa) [*abwāb-i-mamnū'ah*]." They have likewise petitioned those who are in ye presence, That ye Company have Factorys in Bengall Behar and Orixa, and are willing to Settle others Wherefore in any place here Such Settlement shall be made, they desire 40 Beagues [*bīgahs*] to be given from ye King to Enclose a house, and Att some times Ships by storms and wind are drove on Shoar and wreckt, when ye Governours off ports injuriously Seize on ye Goods, and In some places demand ye fourth part The Imperiall Order

is given that according to y^e Custom off other Factorys In other Subaships, Execute. This Nation that has dealings in all ports and att this Court, hath obtained a miraculous phirmaund [*farmān*] in which Custom is Excused. Take care off All wrecks and goods so lost by Storm belonging to them. To all these orders according to y^e Phirmaund [*farmān*] which ought to be adored, render obedience and nott Every year demand a new Sunnod. Off this take particular notice." The 4th day off the Month Suffur [*Safar*]. God has finished with glory and Success—In y^e 5th Year off this Glorious reign.

163 THE GRAND VIZIERS TITLES WROTE ON YE BACK OFF EACH PHIRMAUND [FARMĀN].

Under The protection off the Mountain off vast riches— In whom the King putts his confidence—Chief off the Nobles off the Greatest port Conspicuous Among the Great—The great protectour off the Country and it's riches—The Opener off the way to Fortune and riches—Master off the Sword and Pen—The light and Exalter off the Spear and the Order—Vizier off a true Judgement—Unalterable— Cheif off the Country— Prime Minister in whose hands is all power Yameneel Doula Behauder—The Generall Conquerour and faithfull Friend— The Mirror off all Viziers.

164. CONSULTATION.

Dilly, Jan 4th 1716/17. "Att a Consultation present—Mr. Jn^o. Surman Chief C. Seerhaud and M^r. Edward Stephenson.

The Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] being passed those people who drew them up, and partly wrote over ffair, C. Seerhaud proposes that Colnine [Kamal Nain], and Gungaram [Gangā Rām] receive some more off their Agreement, desiring y^e. Summ off 1250 Siccas, as Also 500 rupees ffor Emenutray [Amānat Rāe], Agreed thereto and that M^r. J. Surman pay y^e. money.

Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] has lately been very pressing ffor the remainder off the contract, both by y^e.

application off his Servants here, and to Seerhaud [Sarhād] in y^{e}. Camp, with y^{e}. pretence off very urgent necessity. Agreed that M^{r}. Jno Surman pay y^{e} Summ off 3000 rs.

Seerhaud [Sarhād] proposes a small present for y^{e}. Cozzy [*qāzi*], off whom some use will be made in y^{e}. taking Copys Off our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] & c^{a}. Agreed That M^{r}. Edward Stephenson deliver y^{e} following things—

Broad Cloth—Imbost	10 Yds.
Aurora	14 do.
Green	25 do.
	49 ,,

165. DIARY.

January 7th — "The Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are all wrote over ffair, being brought to Show us."

January 10th — "Seerhaud [Sarhād] tells us 10 Perwannas [*parwānas*] have received y^{e}. Viziers Seal, and that 14 More are passed Autusham Caun [I'tiṣām Khān]."

January 11th — "Seerhaud [Sarhād] this Evening brought home the ffollowing perwannas—

1. Divy Island present (&) to Come
2. Fort St. Davids towns to Come
3. Bombay min.t to Come
4. Plundering Goods pres^{t}. & to Come.
5. Madrass 5 Towns & to Come.
6. Suratt house on Hyderacooly Caun [Haidar Qulī Khān].
7. Shipwrecks — present and to come.
8. Governours Dustick [*dastak*] to come.
9. Muxadavad [Maqsūdabād Mint—Ickerum Caun [Ikrām Khān]."

"Futtecaun [Fath Khān] brought ye. two Articles, which Caundora [Khān Daurān] gott Signed by his Majesty and

January 13th. delivered to Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān], butt there being one town more added, and the Suratt house only given to live in, Those Phirds [*fards*] were off no manner off Use; Especially Seeing we made a much better progress without them."

January 14th "Mr. Surman & ca. went to the Camp where they Salamed to his Majesty."

January 15th "The Togerah [*tughra*][1] is putt upon All the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*]."

January 17th "The following Perwannas [*parwānas*] are just come out Sealed by ye. Vizier——

1. Madrass 5 Towns On Sadatulla Caun [Sā'datullah Khān]
2. Patna House—present and to Come.
3. Ground 40 Beagues (*bīgahs*) do.
4. Copy off the Phirmaund [*farmān*] do.
5. Abob Memnoowa [*abwāb-i-mamnū'ah*][2] do.
6. Vizagapatam 3 Towns do.
7. Madrass ffree trade—Sadatoola Caun [Sā'datullah Khān].
8. Muxadavad [Maqsūdābād] Mint—present and to come.
9. Fort St. Davids towns—Sadatoola Caun [Sā'datullah Khān]."

166. Consultation

171$\frac{6}{7}$ Dilly Jan 17th. "Att a Consultation present—Mr. Jno. Surman Chief C. Seerhaud and Mr. E. Stephenson.—

C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] has desired that 473 rs. be paid to Colnine [Kamal Nain] and Gungaram [Gangā Rām] being, (as he says) ye. remaining part off their Agreement, and that they have no ffarther demands.

There are 18 perwannas [*parwānas*] sealed by ye. Grand Vizier, butt Seerhaud [Sarhād] informs us that to render them

[1] The imperial signature

[2] Literally, "forbidden taxes." For lists of such items Mr. Irvine refers to Jarrett's *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, II, 66 and E. Thomas *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, 5 and 17. A still more detailed list for 'Ālamgīr's reign will be found in British Museum, Oriental Mss. No. 1641, fol. 136a.

Authentick they must be signed by some off the Subanavises [*ṣūbahnavis*] & c^{a}. off y^{e}. Duanny Ketcherry [*dīwānī*] kachahrī, which he will gett done when he goes to the Camp and in y^{e}. interim draw out copys under y^{e}. Cozzys [*qāẓī's*] Seal. To this End—wanting some small Summ Agreed that 228 rs. be given him ffor y^{e}. Cozzys [*qāẓī's*] Seal.

The King Still continues att Shahamar [Shālihmār][1], butt we hear that he intends for Sewly.[2] Our fair phirmaunds [*farmāns*] only want y^{e}. Viziers title, and Considering y^{e}. Strange dilatoriness off all business here, Agreed that C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] repair to the Camp Alone there being att present no Absolute necessity ffor all our leaving y^{e}. City, thereby to Enhance our Expences.

However upon a ffarther remove off y^{e}. King, or other weighty occasions we may soon repair thither.

C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] being now proceeding to the Camp, and the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] so near done that they must off Necessity ffal—To y^{e}. Sudder-A-Suddool [*sadru-ṣ-sadūr*][3] in a ffew days, to receive the Kings Broad Seal, We have reason to Expect much trouble and Expence ffrom that Quarter. However to anticipate any inconveniences Ordered that C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] inform himself off y^{e}. proper methods to be used, Endeavouring to insinuate and Acquaintance att that Office, that y^{e} way may be prepared ffor y^{e}. receipt off our phirmaunds [*farmāns*] Advising us Accordingly."

167. DIARY.

January 21st "The Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] have been with y^{e}. person that writes y^{e}. Viziers titles."

January 22nd "The Kings Gone ffrom Shalamer [Shālhimār to Nerella [Narela."][4]

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[1] See above on the 8th April 1716

[2] Sewly is frequently named by Kāmwar Khān It lay to the North of Delhi between Sonpat and the river Jumna

[3] The *sadru-s-sadur*, head of heads, was superintendent of charitable and religious endowments At this time the office was held by Maulvi Sayyad Afzal Khān, Bahādur, Sadr Jahān, who had been Farrukhsiyar's tutor. Apparently he kept the seal as a person especially trusted by the emperor.

[4] See above on the 8th April, 1716

January 23rd. "Our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are gone to his Majesty."

January 27th. "Sundry advices say our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are Come ffrom his Majesty Approved and the Phird [*fard*] signed."

January 30th. "The Kings Tents gone to Sunputt [Sonpat] Autusham Caun [I'tisām Khān] refuses to Sign 7 Perwannas [*parwānas*]."

168. Consultation.

"Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] being come ffrom the Camp gives the ffollowing Account. The Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] February 1st being perfectly ffinished are Going to the Sudder-A-Suddool [*sadru-ṣ-ṣadūr*] ffor Seal. That having had severall meetings with that Omrahs peeshcar [*umarā's peshkār*], they were yett come to no manner off Agreement That he had Offered to 5000 rupees, that Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddi*] descending no lower than 25,000. In ffine that itt was Seerhauds [Sarhād's] opinion this Affair might be concluded ffor 10,000 rupees. We are well convinced off the necessity to purchase that Omrahs [*umarā's*] ffriendship att any rate, Indulging his sordid avairtious temper ffrom the great ffavour shown him by his Majesty. The Account off the Portugueze phirmaund [*farmāns*] is still fresh in Every ones memory, which, After itt was brought to the present Crisis, was lost ffor want off timely bribery to this Nobleman. A precaution sufficient to prevent our Splitting on the Same rock !

Wherefore We Agree Seerhaud [Sarhād] may Offer as ffar as 10,000 rupees to be paid, so soon as the phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are Sealed.

We doe all Agree that as soon as the Seal is on the phirmaund [*farmāns*] Itt will be high time to petition ffor our dispatches. Seerhaud [Sarhād] desires to know att what time and in what method he may prepare the way. Agreed that the most Expeditious way is to be consulted. We Suppose Every thing will be done near to fformer Custom, so that by endeavouring att Extravagancys, much time may be lost to little or no purpose.

We have received news that Kings tents are removed to Sunputt (Sonpat). This ffrequent motion, but, still to a Greater distance causes us to Suspect some design ffarther than meer hunting· and the Distance off Seerhaud [Sarhād] ffrom us must upon any Emergent occasion cause delays. Wherefore Agreed that Mr. Surman & c^a^. remove to the Camp to be ready on all occasions, and Thatt Messrs. Stephenson and Philips remain in the City to Look after the Honourable Companys Affairs there As ffor what small addition off peons & c^a^. are necessary ffor the houses and to attend in the Camp Agreed that they be entertained"

169. DIARY.

February 4th — "The King has gott another wife ffrom Cashmeer."

February 5th — "Mr. Surman Arrived att the Kings Camp in Sunputt [Sonpat]."

"The phirmaunds [*farmāns*] being returned ffrom the King to Ecklaus Caun [Ikhlās K͟hān][1], he seals them up with

February 6th — a phird [*fard*], and sends them to Sudder-A-Suddool [*ṣadru-ṣ-ṣadūr*]. The phird [*fard*] contains that the King having perused phirmaunds [*farmāns*] he was ordered to send them to him ffor the Great Seal"

February 7th — "The King has sent ffor his Tents and throne designing to keep his jesson [*jashan*][2] here."

Hossen-Ali Cauns [Husain 'Alī K͟hān's] fforces have defeated the Great Raja Sougee [Sāhūjī][3] & c^a^. Decan Rebells."

170. CONSULTATIONS.

"Pursuant to a fformer consultation in the City, All means possible have been used to bring the Sudder-A-Suddool [*ṣadru-ṣ-*

[1] Ikhlās K͟hān was *Mīr Munshī* He was a converted *Khatri*, and a native of Kalānaur in the Punjab He died on the 2nd Jamādi II, 1140 H. *i e* the 4th January, 1728 His biography is in *Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, I, 350

[2] The *jashan*, or festivities for the anniversary of the accession of the King, lasted from the 15th to the 23rd Rabī 'I, 16th February to the 24th February

[3] The Maratha Raja Sāhū was defeated by Rajah Muhkam Singh, an Officer of Husain 'Alī K͟hān The official report of this was received at Court on the 5th Rabī 'I 1129 H *i e* the 6th February

Sunputt Kings' Camp February 8th

ṣadūr] to some reason, and offers already made to 10,000 Rs., butt with which he is nott satisfied. To prevent ffarther delays and ffor fear off accident we have been obliged to advance. Seerhaud [Sarhād] now tells us itt is finished as follows

Sudder-A-Suddool [*ṣadru-ṣ-ṣadūr*]	Cash	5000 Rs.
	Goods	4000
		9000
Peeshcar [*peshkār*]		3000
		12,000

Seerhaud [Sarhād] moreover says, this will be considerably lighten'd by the price off the Goods that are to be given. Agreed that this money be paid to bribe him to our Interest. Butt as this great man off the law has butt little ffaith he demands to have 6500 Currant Rupees before he will petition his Majesty. We Are obliged to comply with him in this also. Agreed that Mr. Stephenson be wrote to, That he pay his Servants the Summ off 6500 Rupees.

The petition which went in to his Majesty ffor the Seal is (God be thanked) att Last come out, so the phirmaunds [*farmāns*]

Sunputt, February 19th.

will proceed to be seal'd. The seal lyes in the hand off a Lady under the Sudders [*sadr's*] Seal, butt kept in the Seraglio; There is an Eunuch to open itt, and another person to putt itt on[1]. These Expect Each their particular perquisite, Amounting in all to seven or eight hundred rupees.

We hope in a day or two to See the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] come out sealed, which Encourages us to desire our dispatches ffrom his Majesty. Agreed that Seerhaud [Sarhād] draw up a petition to his Majesty, and that, After Approvall, Itt be delivered to Sallabutt Caun [Salābat Khān] and Caundora [Khān Daurān]."

171. DIARY.

"To our Inexpressible Satisfaction our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] with the Kings Broad Seal upon them were brought to Show us."

February 23rd.

[1] These details as to how the seals were guarded are curious and suggestive.

172. LETTER XXVII[1].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq^r^. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Right Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c^a^. Council in Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We wrote your Honour & c^a^. the 27th 28th and 31st December the last of which carried the good News that his Majesty had Approv'd the Draughts of our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*], the Month of January was intirely taken up, in compleating the fair Phirmaunds [*farmāns*], putting on the Toogarh, [*tughra*] and then passing his Majesty's Perusal with an Order for their proceeding to the Seal which the King Granted. We forbore at that time writing your Honour & c^a^. till we had pass'd this latter but Great Gulph. The great Seal is under the care of the Chief Priest (Suddera-Suddool) [*sadru-s-ṣadur*] who having been the Kings Tutor from his Infancy, and being a very particular Favourite, has doubtless a very great ascendancy over him, and which he carrys to that Pitch as to Seal what Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] he pleases, upon our first Arrivall here, we heard of a Proof of his Authority, seeing the Purtuguese Padre, who came as Envoy from Goa, after he had compleated his Business and got his Phirmaund [*farmān*] ready for the Seal, the High Priest because not satisfied as he expected took care to ruin the affair, and the Padre was forc'd to return to Goa, leaving his Phirmaund [*farmān*] behind him, this and many other Instances made us very cautious how to manage this Business, but being certified that Bribery was the only practicable method, there needed no Consideration wheather this was a proper occasion to be sparing of our Honourable Masters Money In fine after an Heasitation of 12 Days this matter was brought to a Conclusion at the expence of 12000 rupees for him and his Chief Gentue Peeschar [*peshkār*], besides some other expences which must

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[1] This letter is found in the 'Copy Book for Letters received from Mr. Surman & c^a^ at the Mogulls Court', Home Series, Miscellaneous, No. 70, at the India Office

naturally ensue to the Begum who keeps the Seal the Eunuch that passes between with some other under officers; another Petition was made to his Majesty from this Office which came out Sign'd, and now the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] are Seal'd and will be return'd hence to the Secretary in order to their going to the Vizier for his Seal. We have yet no reason to apprehend any trouble from that Quarter. God grant our Expectations may be answer'd.

We enclose Copys under the Cozzee's [*qāzī's*] Seal of 25 Sunnods [*sanads*], which have received the Viziers Seal vizt.

No.		
1.	Bombay Mint.	Present and to come.
2.	Surat House and Ground	do.
3.	Surat free Trade	do.
4.	Copy under the Cozzees [*qāzī's*] Seal	do.
5.	Fort St. Davids Towns	on Saddatoola Caun [Sa'datullah Khān].
6.	Muxodavad [Maqsūdābād] Mint	present and to come.
7.	Forbidden things (Abob Mumnua)	present and to come.
8.	Ship Wreck	do.
9.	Muxodavad [Maqsūdābād] Mint	on Ickerum Caun [Ikrām Khān].
10.	Divy Island	present and to come.
11.	Ground, 40 Bega's	do.
12.	Plundering Goods	do.
13.	Company Gomastaes	do.
14.	Surat free Trade	on Hyderacooly Caun [Ḥaidar Qulī Khān].
15.	Bengall free Trade	present and to come.
16.	Divy Island	on Awooroody Caun [Anwaru-d-din Khān].
17.	Fort St. Davids Towns	present and to come.
18.	Surat House	on Hyderacooly Caun [Ḥaidar Qulī Khān].
19.	Madrass free Trade	present and to come.

20. Madrass 5 Towns	on Sadatoola Caun [Sa'datullah Khān].
21. Madrass Rupees	present and to come.
22. Madrass free Trade	on Saddatula Caun [Sa'datullah Khān].
23. Vizagapatam Towns	present and to come.
24. Patna House	do
25. Madrass 5 Towns	do.

There Still remains 7 unfinished, which the Duan Colse [*dīwān-i-khālisah*] under some pretence or other has refus'd yet to Sign, viz.

2 for the Calcutta Towns, 1 Vizagapatam 3 Towns, 1 Rogues, 1 Governours Dustick [*dastak*], 1 Companys Debtors 1 Patna House on the Duan [*dīwān*] means are using to get these likewise Compleated, an Account of which we hope will be carried by our next dispatches.

Finding Our Business so happily drawing near a conclusion, we have esteem'd it a fit opportunity to desire our dispatches from his Majesty, and to which end a Petition was 3 days ago deliver'd to Caundora [Khān Daurān], which we shall follow with the Utmost Diligence, seeing this will of itself require some time, besides your Honour & c^a^. have the Character of our Dilatory Patron in several of our former Letters, considering all this with the Season of the Year, we find it will be impossible to reach Bengall before the rains are commenc'd, wherefore we propose to take our Passage from Patna by water, and accordingly desire your Honour & c^a^. would supply us with Budgerows, the difficulty will be small in sending them up, seeing we near Seerbullund Caun [Sarbuland Khān] has pretty well clear'd the way.

In our formers we advised of the Kings leaving the City, his Majesty continued about a Month on the Skirts, diverting himself with Hunting, so that most of the Mutsuddies [*mutaṣaddīs*] with whom he had Business remain'd in Dilly, but as soon as we found his Majesty mov'd to a greater distance, and there

being certain rumours of his continuance or going on, we without more delay remov'd to the Camp the 4th Inst. leaving Messrs Stephenson and Phillips behind us in the City, there are a great many flying reports in the Camp, but to all appearance there is no long Journey intended, neither will he return to the City immediately, by our Next Letter we hope to give your Honour & ca some insight of the time of our Departure, which we shall endeavour to make as quick as our Affairs will permit.

Enclosed comes Accounts Cash and Warehouse; charges general and Copies of our Consultations for the Month of December.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

SUN-PUT
Feb. 23: 1716/7

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

We have received your Honour & ca Letter February the 6th bearing date January 5th and shall follow all Orders contained therein.

JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON

173. DIARY.

March 6th

"The Kings' Camp removed ffrom Nerella [Narelā] to Shalamar [Shālimār]."

"Mr. Surman being this Evening with Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān,] The Syud (Sayyad) told him he had pressed hard upon Caundora [Khān Daurān] ffor Our Quick and honourable dispatch. That he had showed him a List off what was given to the Portugueze and Dutch Embassadours att their departure, the whole being

March 7th

Effected by a woman (Bibee Juliana)[1] and what might nott we Expect After so glorious a present, so much trouble and expense with the Assistance off so great A Patron ? Caundora [Khān Dauiān] insisted a little whether itt was customary to return an Answer, to our Honourable Presidents Letter, from his Majesty, Butt this will be granted Seeing both the Portugueze and Dutch received it."

174. Letter XXVIII.[2]

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq[r] President and Governour of Fort William & c[a] Council for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

Out last to your Honours & c[a] was the 23rd Ulto when we advis'd of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] having received the Kings Seal that they were next to be carryed to Eilasse Caun [Ikhlās Khan] and from thence to the Visiers for his Seal, we likewise enclos'd Coppy of the 25 Sunnods [*sanads*] under the Cozzee's [*qāzi's*] Seal, which we hope arriv'd in good time.

This serves to advise your Honour & ç[a] that we have drawn the following Bills which are to be paid 70 days after Date in Siccas of the 6th Years Stamp and 10½ Massa [*māsha*] for the Value received here Viz[t].—

From John Surman payable to Mr. James Williamson for 1300 Sicca's

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[1] Bibi Juliana, whom the Dutch envoys styled Donna Juliana, was a Portuguese lady employed in the harem After occupying a conspicuous position at the Mogal Court from the days of Bahādur Shāh onwards, she died at the age of 75 in Rabī 'I, 1147 H, *i e*, July, August, 1734 There is a Persian Account of her, of which copies exist in the British Museum Library, Add. MSS 14,374, fo'l 2-11, and at Kings's College, Cambridge, Pote Collection No 29 A French translation of the latter by E H Palmer was published in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, 6 me serie*, 1865 Her story is also told in Colonel Gentil's *Memoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1822, pp 367-380 I owe this information to Mr Irvine I have given the outlines of Bibi Juliana's life, as far as can be gathered from these sources, in an article published in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review for October*, 1900

[2] This Letter is found in the 'Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman & c[a] at the Mogulls Court, Home Series, Miscellaneous, No. 70, at the India Office

From Bewsing [Bhāo Singh] payable to Sawbiparry [*sāhū beopārī*] for 5000 Siccas.

25th February Cojah Serhad [Khwājah Sarhād] payable to his Gomastah [*gumāshtah*] Callam 450 Sicca's.

To all which we desire your Honour & c[a] will give due Honour. We are not able to give any account of our further Proceedings in the Grand Affair, but hope our next will carry the Good News of its Conclusion.

We are Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
C. SEERHAUD JOHN SURMAN
HUGH BARKER EDWARD STEPHENSON."
SECRY

Kings Camp
near Shallamar.
March 9th 1716/17.

175. DIARY.

"The Grand Vizier visitted and presented according to a fformer consultation. That Great man off himself said all our Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] were ffinished.—The Kings Tents come into the City, and Itt is Expected he will follow Shortly."

March 12th

"We hear his Majesty wants to make One Enoytulla Caun ['Ināyutullah Khān][1], Daun Calsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] a post he had enjoyed many years under Allumgeer ['Ālamgir], and the whole reign off Behauder Sha [Bahādur Shāh], Butt the man refuses to Accept itt without being made Deputy Vizier, and a power given to doe as he thinks fitt, with many other Such Extravagant demands, all which we hope will prevent his being Employ'd. For the Vizier and Caundora [Khān Daurān] will have nothing to doe. However as our business is almost finished, we hope no alteration may be made till the Viziers Seal is on our papers, when itt will be out off any ones power to give us any molestation."

March 18th

[1] 'Ināyatullah Khān, Kashmīrī, was made *dīwān-i-khāliṣah* and *dīwan-i-tan* on the 1st Jamādī I, 1129 H. *i e*, 2nd April, 1717 He died on the 21st Rabī 'I, 1138 H, *i e*, the 16th November, 1725. His biography is in *Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 828

"Sallabat Caun [Salābat Khān] says Cooshalchund [Khushhāl Chand][1] told Caundora [Khān Daurān], upon his asking for the Arze [*'arzi*] for our dispatch, That what was designed ffor Our Honourable President Should be inserted in the Seaw [*siyāhah*] for the Phirmd [*farmān*] To which Caundora [Khān Daurān] replayed That He would clear that matter to day. Our Vakile [*vakīl*] brot quite another Story from Cooshalchund [Khushhāl Chand] who said he had no opportunity to deliver the papers, besides that he must know what the Dutch present was—and what they recd what we were to receive, and what was our present. An account off which he had sent for from the Consommany [*Khānsāmānī*], which must off necessity take up some days[2]'.

March 21st

Instead off Carrying the Phirmaunds [*fārmāns*] to the Vizier; Ecklaus Caun [Ikhlās Khān], Arshed Caun [Irshād Khān], Colnine [Kamal Nain] & Gungaram [Gangā Rām] are all gone to the City this morning being Thursday, and nott to return till Saturday· A miserable misfortune to see our stay so unreasonably Lengthen'd.

Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] has promised to carry C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] to Caundoras, [Khān Daurān's] to endeavour the making an End off the Phirmd [*farmān*] and present for the Honourable Governour Hedges."

176. CONSULTATION.

"There has been 25 perwannas [*perwānas*] done ffor some months Except their signing by some of the Writers. Seerhaud [Sarhād] has been frequently pressed to bring them to a period, butt without any Success, he pretending to Stay till the rest are done and then compleating all together Itt is Our opinion they are nott a moment longer to

Shalamar
March 22nd

[1] Khūshhāl Chand was the *peshkār* of the *mir bakhshī*, Khān Daurān.

[2] It was maintained that the Dutch were not to be a precedent, because (1) Mu'izzu-d-din was a usurper, and (2) the English present was four times as great as the Dutch Surman represented that they did not want riches, but would be glad to go with a *sar-o-pā* for himself and the Governor. He was anxious to be gone on account of the coming of the rains.

be left to uncertaintys, and the more att present seeing we have warm information that Enoytulla Caun ['Ināyatullah Khān] will be Daun-Calsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] , off whose Character we have too great a knowledge to leave any thing to his decision or ffavour. Seerhaud [Sarhād] has for a long time told us the six remaining Perwannas [*parwānas*] were done Butt as yett we see nothing off itt. We doe believe itt the proper'st was to Stick close to Boquechund [Bhog Chand][1], nott leaving him 'till those Are finished likewise, and Altho' nott according to our wish, That they be done as he pleases; rather than lye any longer in Suspence".

177. DIARY.

March 22nd

"Having fresh advices That Enoytella Caun ['Ināyutullah Khān] Would certainly be Daun Colsa [*dīwān-i-khaliṣah*], Seerhaud [Sarhād] was pressed to gett the 25 perwannas signed by the proper writers. They only write that they are according to the Books, butt without itt they cannot be shown Any where."

March 23rd

"Gungaram [Gangā Rām] being in y^e City, indisposed with a pain in his Eyes, Seerhaud [Sarhād] went to Ecklauscaun [Ikhlās Khān] to gett another man ordered to Supply his post att y^e Viziers, butt he was answered that Gungaram [Gangā Rām] being Peeshcar [*peshkar*] off y^e Russalaw [*risālah*] we must have patience, 'till his return. This answer caused Great uneasiness, which was heighten'd by a report, That His Majesty had ordered Enaam Caun [In'ām Khān] to Carry Enoytulla Caun ['Ināyatullah Khān] to y^e Vizier, & tell him he had made him Daun Calsa & Tun [*dīwān i-khaliṣah* and *tan*] as being a man off great Experience. To w^ch. The poor Vizier (They say) out off fear to displease his Majesty consented. We considered That iff the Viziers seal should be putt into his hands (as has sometimes happened) we should run a Great risque ffor Our phirmds [*farmāns*] To remedy

[1] Bhog Chand was *peshkar* of the *khāliṣah*.

This, Gungaram [Gangā Rām] must be any means & with ye Utmost Expedition be brot out Wherefore C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] will proceed to ye City to morrow morning, to Endeavour, to gett him out, and Even by a handsome bribe to ffinish ye business, when all our ffears will be over Except ffor the remaining Daunny Sunnods [*dīwānī sanads*] off which there there is little hope.

"Enoytulla Caun ['Ināyatullah Khān] is Accounted Strict, averse to bribery, and perfectly knowing in the Customes and Government off this Kingdom, wherefore itt would have been impossible under his management to have obtained those grants, to possess which we have now so ffair a prospect."

"This day the Vizier gave an order to have the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] sealed The 25 perwannas [*perwānas*] were all carried into the Daunny Ketcherry [*dīwānī kacharī*] for the Subanvises [*subahnavīs's*] mark, vizt, They are according to the books—small trifle will obtain this."

March 27th

178. Consultation.

"The Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] having received the Grand Viziers Seal, There now remains nothing butt an Arze ['*arzī*] to be wrote from Ecklaus Caun [Ikhlās Khān] to his Majesty, for their delivery to us We hope this will be ffinished in a few days, so shall defer writing the Honourable President and Councill till said petition comes out."

Shalamar, March 28th 1717

179. diary.

"Our dispatches are delay'd till precedents are ffound in the reigns of Allumgeer ['Ālamgir] and Behadur Sha [Bahādur Shāh], for wch one Boputray [Bhopat Rāe] is searching the Consommany [*khānsāmānī*] records in the City. Mr. Surman has promised this man a small Gratuity in case he is Expeditious."

180. LETTER XXIX[1].

"To the Honourable CHARLES BOONE
ESQ^R President and Governour of Bombay.

HONOURABLE SIR & C^a

Your Honour & C^{ta}'s dated January the 27th came to hand in due time by which we are glad to find that the draughts of the phirmaunds [*farmāns*] approved by his Majesty arrived in Time, and that a translate thereof would be sent home to our Honourable Masters which was what we extremely desir'd, seeing those forwarded to Bengall arriv'd after their last dispatches, which was January the 16th, without doubt it will be very pleasing news to our Honourable Masters to hear what they are likely to possess, and what we hope will in a great measure answer the money that has been expended

Ever since our last his Majesty has continued delighting himself in his Encampment, haunting within 20 cos of the City, and where we have attended about two months, the frequent motion of the army, and the fatigues of the camp have added to draw near a Conclusion made us defer writing till now, the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] after they were drawn up fair were again sent in for his Majesty's perusal, and to receive his orders to be sent for the Great Seal, which he graciously granted' and they accordingly went in to the keeper, we were forc'd to stop his mouth with a large bribe, being a Gentleman who would otherwise have endeavour'd to ruin what we have so long been employ'd about, but being Satisfied of the bribe he naturally fell, in with our interest and petition'd his Majesty for the Seal who ordered it to be affixe'd, which was done the 23rd ultimo, from thence the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] were returned to the Secretary, who according to custom sent them to the Vizier for his Seal on the back, we had some small apprehensions that this was a Gulph not very easily pass'd over, the Vizier being remarkable for his Avaritious Temper, the sight of the Phir maunds [*farmāns*] did certainly bring it into his mind, and they

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St George, on Thursday, the 6th of June, and is to be found in the Madras Public Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, Range 239, No 87, at the India Office.

met with many putoffs from today and tomorrow, for some time, but our frequent presents, and the respect we have paid him, with a few good words from the brib'd Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] who were present at last overcame him, and the Fortune of our Honourable Masters has been very Conspicuous on this occasion; the Vizier Sign'd paper to have a Seal Affix'd without asking a Farthing, accordingly the Seal was put on the 27th instant and so return'd again to the Secretary's Office, there only now remaining a petition to be wrote from thence for our possession, the same Success has likewise attended the Sunods [*sanads*]; We hope a few days will put us in possession of all, when we shall take care to transmitt you copys under the Kozz's [*qāẓī's*] Seal of what relates to your Settlement

As soon as the broad Seal was affix'd to the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*], we consider'd our business as Finish'd, and accordingly petition'd for leave to depart; but our Strange dilatory Patron, who never does anything in haste has not as yet effected it, he has indeed promis'd that as soon as his Majesty goes in to the City he will get us dispatch'd very honourable. We are oblig'd to have patience but hope it cannot be long, when we shall do our Selves the honour to write to you again in the interim,

We are
Your obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

COJEE SEERHAUD
Assenting
HUGE BARKER,
Sery.

King's Camp
Shalamar
March 30th
1717

181. DIARY.

March 31st

'Seerhaud [Sarhād] tells us That After much trouble, and for fear off a new Duan Calsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] which would render his contract hazzardous, Boguechund [Bhog Chand] att Last agreed to the perwanna [*perwāna*] for the Culcutta towns as itt was just now drawn up. So signing upon that and the Other perwannes [*perwānas*]

"According to the books" they are ready for the Duan Calsas [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah's*] Signing."

"Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] sent Mr. Surman The Grand Viziers petition signed by the King: wherein was contained an order for Mr. Hamilton to visitt His Uncle Syud-Caun Jehaun[1] [Sayyad Khān Jahān]; who was indisposed, butt lying with his fforces att Feredabad [Farīdābād].[1] Our Honourable Masters interest exacting a compliance, Mr. Hamilton will sett forward tomorrow."

April 1st.

"The King having made Duan [*dīwān*] wherein Enoytulla Caun ['Ināyutullah Khān] was constituted Calsa [*khāliṣah*] and Tun Duan [*tan-kā-dīwān*], and Suba [*subāhdār*] off Cashmeer, He departed for the City. According to Syud Sallabut Cauns [Syyad Ṣalābat Khān's] petition, and his Majesty's order, Mr. Surman &c[a] went to See the noted Garden Called Shalamar [Shālihmār] from whence after dinner, proceeded to the City."

April 3rd

"The Grand Vizier very well pleased when he heard Mr. Hamilton was gone to See his Uncle."

April 4th

"Mr. Hamilton returned to the City, Itt was only the Omrahs [*umrā's*] wife who was indisposed, She is to come to the City likewise for her cure, while Syud-Caun-Jehaun [Syyad Khān Jāhan] proceeds against the Jaats."

April 6th

182. Letter XXX[2].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c[a] Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

This serves to accompany a Bill of Exchange drawn on

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[1] Sayyad Khān Jahān had been sent to help, or rather hinder, Rājah Jai Singh in his seige of Churāman Jāṭ in the fortress of Thūn Khāfi Khān (II, 777) says the Sayyad lingered near Delhi for two or three months before he really started. For Farīdābād see *ante*, p 51.

[2] This Letter is found in the 'Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman' as noted before.

your Honour & c[a] for twentyfive Thousand Sicca Rupees of 10½ Massa [*māsha*] and the 6th Year, payable 70 Days after date to Sawbiparry [*sāhu beopāri*] or Order, being for value received here from Murlidar Bawsein Decanny Ray [Murlidhar Bhao Singh Dakhinī Rāe] Factors to Kissoray Kissenchund [Keshū Rāe Kishn Chand], to which we desire your Honour & c[a] will give due Honour, being,

DILLY
April 9th 1717.
HUGE BARKER
Sec[ry].

Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON.

183 LETTER XXXI[1].

"TO THE HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES ESQ[R]. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Right Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &c[a]. Council in Fort William

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Our last to your Honour & c[a] was February 23rd which carried the good news of the Broad Seal being Clapt on the Phirmaunds [*fārmāns*], which we hope is duly arriv'd from that Office, they were carried to have the Ressalaw [*risālah*][2], Viz[t]. the Grand Visiers Seal on the back, the obtaining of which took up the whole Month of March, considering the Kings being in the Camp so near the City, the Muttsuddies [*mutasaddīs*] missed no opportunity to regale themselves at their own houses, the Kings going daily a Hunting, and sometimes the Visiers not Sitting out may have been the cause of so great a delay, besides this we cannot answer, but the Visier may have had some small Sticklings whether he should on this Occasion require a bribe or not, For the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] were several times carried

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St George on Monday, the 21st July, 1717 It is therefore found in the Madras Consultation Book and also in Surman's Copy Book of Letters

[2] *Risālah* means faculty "In the *risālah* of so-and-so" is a technical phrase meaning 'within the official competence of so-and-so.'

return'd without receiving their full Approval, but in the this great Minister answered the Opinion we Always had im, The Fortune of our Honourable Masters carrying the he sign'd a Paper for the Seal the 27th which was affixed 'ollowing day without any Alterations, altho' it was reported Rey Reyon [Rāe-i-Rāyān] and Rajah Rullunchund [Ratan nd], at that Instant did make some Offers to the Contrary, which however prov'd ineffectual, we shou'd at that time given your Honour & c[a]. the good news, but being so near finishing, we were willing to detain our dispatches a few longer till the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] were deliver'd, but there was to be another Petition wrote to the King that they ready, and his orders expected thereon, which was sent his Majesty the 2nd and came out sign'd the 7th and this the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] were brought home intirely i'd by Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] and delivered to Surman pursuant to your Honour & c[a]'s Orders, we do detain this Cossid [*qāṣid*] any longer for the Sake of Trans-ing Copies under the Cozzee's [*qāẓi's*] Seal which may take a few days, your Honour & c[a]. may be sure that utmost aution shall be taken therein, and for the Security of those ious Papers, which have been obtained at so much expence, ır Honourable Masters and Trouble to our Selves, we shall ribute all that lies in our Power.

We herewith enclose Copies under the Cozzees [*qāẓi's*] of 25 Perwannas [*parwānas*], being the same we formerly down, the Originals are finish'd except one Writers Signing ı, which Seerhaud [Sarhād] says will be done either today omorrow when they will be delivered as the Phirmaunds *nāns*], the remaining 7 Perwannas [*parwānas*] as yet are not , Attesham Caun [I'tisām Khān] while he remained Duan a [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] refusing to Sign them without some rations which were not fully compleated till the late revolu-in the Duanny [*dīwāni*], Seerhaud [Sarhād] tells us they be done in a few days but a Small matter must be first nded.

The most active part of the Ministry here has of late received ry great Turn, by the displacing of Attesham Caun Duan a [I'tisām Khān, *dīwān-i-khāliṣah*], and Rey Reyon Daun

Tun [Rāe-i-Rāyān, *tan-kā-diwān*], his Majesty giving those posts to Enoitoola[1] Caun ['Ināyutullah Khān] who is lately come from Mecca as a Master fit to retrieve the Troubled State of his Kingdom, he was possess'd of these Posts for many Years in the time of Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr] and the same all the Reign of Behauder Shaw [Bahādur Shāh], noted for his knowledge in the Affairs of this Kingdom his great Severity and utter Refusal of any Sort of Bribery Whatever, at the Beginning of this Kings Reign, his Son Edatoola Caun [Hidāyatullah Khan][2] was Consomma [*khānsāmān*], but falling under the Suspition of the Regning Favourities, they Sacrificed him[3] to their own Security, and so sent the father[4] to Mecca, his Majesty finding the many Complaints made from all parts, the great want of Treasure, and in fine Strange Confusion every thing was in made him look round to find out if possible a fit Man to retrieve it. This Man they say was first propos'd by Ammeenoo dy Caun [Amīnu-dīn-Khān][5] and afterwards so well fix'd in his Majestys Thoughts, that all the Instances us'd by the reigning Ministers could not avert him from it, Enoitoola Caun[6] ['Ināyatullah Khān] himself was very hardly brought to, considering the great risq [risk] he must run by disobliging the regning Favourities, and to act for the Kings Interest, which were perfectly inconsistent so that before he woul'd accept the Post, he made a great many Objections Vizt., the Protection of Cutbulmooluck [Quṭbu-l-mulk], to have a considerably Sum of Money paid down out of the Kings private Treasury as he should require it, and that no man shou'd offer to interfere in his Business, all which his Majesty readily granted, and purely in obedience to the Kings Command, was by the Vizier for the present, Our Patron is not to be fathom'd, but it is Suppo'd this Alteration has Clipt his Wings in a great measure, the third Instant he received a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] as Duan Colsa Duan Tun, and

[1] This is the reading of the Madras Copy The Copy in Mr. Surman's book is written carelessly and gives 'Edatoola' which is obviously wrong

[2] Hidāyatullah Khān was executed by Farrukhsīyar's order on the 2nd Rabi 'I 1125H i e, the 18th March, 1713

[3] The Copy in Mr Surman's book omits 'him'

[4] This is the reading of the Madras Copy In Mr. Surman's Copy Book Letters 'the father' has been corrupted into 'further'

[5] Amīnu-d-dīn Khān died on the 28th Safar 1150H i e, the 16th June 1737 aged a littl over sixty-five lunar years. His biography is in *Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, I 357

and Subah of Cashmeer[1], we have very good reason to be extraordinary glad to find our Honourable Masters Affairs want none of his Assistance, and we believe we dare venture to say, he is too well acquainted to have pass'd such Papers of which his Predecessors knew less the Consequence, and we hope it's too late for him to make any Enquiry after them

We have not as yet been able to make any great progress in our dispatches, our Strange dilatory Patron is the occasion of it, he puts us off from the Camp to the City, promising with many Asseverations he wou'd do it on our Arrival there, his Majesty came in the third Inst., but as yet we have seen nothing but fair Promises, we shall leave no Stone unturn'd to get away, with the utmost Expedition but at present must have patience.

Your Honour & c[a]'s dated February 12th came to hand March the 18th we humbly propose the foregoing as a Sufficient Answer thereto, everyone being to the utmost of their Endeavour willing to obey all orders your Honour &c[a] shall impose on them.

We have drawn the following Bills of Exchange.

April 9th, 25000 Sicca's payable to Sawebiparry [*sāhū beopāri*] or order, for value received of Murlidar Bowsing, Duckeneray, [Murlidhar Bhāo Singh Dakhinī Rāe] Factors to Kisseray Kissenchund [Keshu Rāe Kishan Chand].

April 10th, 2000 Sicca's payable to Mr. James Williamson, value received from Mr. William Hamilton

To which we desire your Honour & c[a] to give due Honour.

Mr. Edward Stephenson having Paid into (cash) the Sum of 3986.6.3 Current Rupees, Account Merchants goods Sold we desire your Honour &c[a]. will make that Sum good to them in Calcutta.

Enclos'd comes Accounts Cash, Warehouse and Charges General with Copies of Consultations and Diary for the Months of January and February which we wish safe to your Honour & c[a]. and are

Honourable Sir and Sirs

Dilly, April 10th 1717. Your most obedient humble Servants

C. SEERHAUD. JOHN SURMAN

HUGH BARKER Sec[ry]. EDWARD STEPHENSON."

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[1] See p 231 above, note 1, also p. 237.

184. CONSULTATION EXTRAORDINARY.

Dilly, April 13th 1717.

"Att an Extraordinary Consultation held Dilly April 13th 1717 and present Mr Jn^o^ Surman Chief Mr E. Stephenson H. Barker & Mr. T. Philips

C. Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] has been Lately tampering in Secrett by Second hands with J. Surman concerning a Scheme which he has laid to gain some money, which he proposes to be divided between them. Upon Examination itt was nott found Standard Either in honour or Honesty To make Every thing plain itt is more proper to take all from it's beginning and Explain Each particular Some three days since Seerhaud [Sarhād] sent for Otmaram [Atmā Rām] Our Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*] and in private told him to acquaint J. Surman "That itt was impossible any 'one could take so much pains without the hopes off gaining something. That he had formerly in Patna made a very handsome offer. That by y^e^. protecting and bringing up off Merchants Goods a considerable summ might have been gained 50,000 rupees att least, That he had concerted Every thing, and that the gains might have been divided at J Surmans pleasure, Butt falling out, for meer spight he had nott only refused itt, butt would nott suffer any Goods to be brought by our Convoy, and thereby broke all his measures which he had concerted". Seerhaud [Sarhād] Added, "That what was past was past, That he was certain Jn^o^ Surmans private Expences must amount to about 10 or 12000 rupees, That iff he might be permitted he could find a method to reimburse him, without loss off time, Hinderance off y^e^ business, or prejudice to Our Masters. In fine in 8 days to gain att least 40,000 rupees which is to be divided half and half, or otherwise as Jn^o^ Surman should think fitt. This is y^e^ bulk off y^e^ first opening, to which as a means to deceive J. Surman returned the following answer, "that what was over was over, That he retained no malice that the occasion off his refusing his proposition in Patna was our Masters prohibition, and withall to desire he would explain the present Scheme, of all this Jn^o^. Surman acquainted Edward Stephenson". He returned answer "He could by private means gain a good

Summ from his Majesty for our Expences att our departure, That he would Effect itt in 8 days without y^e^. Assistance off Caundora [Khān Daurān] and Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān]." To which J. Surman desired time to consider, and he consulted. Butt y^e^ next day Seerhaud [Sarhād] opened itt to J. Surman himself and was very pressing for his consent. That he would gett y^e^. money by Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] means thro' Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] That Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] and Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] should Speak, That itt would hasten our dispatches, That J. Surman should have $\frac{2}{5}$, Cojah Seerhaud $\frac{2}{5}$, and Edward Stephenson $\frac{1}{5}$ To receive itt publickly, & That iff y^e^. Councill should nott allow off itt, The worst could be to return itt". Jn^o^. Surman returned no possitive answer, butt that he would consult Edward Stephenson and then advise. Butt nott being being willing to keep this as secrett to our selves itt is likewise made publick, H. Barker and Mr. T. Philips called to this consultation and desired to give their advice freely on this occasion. Thus having laid down y^e^. particulars off this Story, we infer y^e^ Question to be contained under y^e^ following heads.

1. Whether itt is reasonable to Suppose y^e^. King will make Such a Grant, After so much generosity off giving us Barbardarry [*bār-bardārī*] (Carriage) ?
2. That in case itt should happen to be obtain'd, whether itt is consistant with Our Honour to receive itt and putt itt in our pocketts ?
3. Whether there is any appearance off prejudice to permitt him to use his Endeavours on any terms ?

To this We Answer:

1st. To us itt seems impossible to obtain any thing, His Majesty nott being so free off his money; and his favourite (Our Patron) not so Easyly brought over to Such Grants. So that this Scheme carrys a very sandy foundation: and Expect to have y^e^. first blast oversett itt.

2nd. We are off opinion that money so given for Our Expences (as itt must be iff Obtain'd) ought to be applyed to that use and putt into Our H.

Masters Cash. We publickly profess that what Summs we shall so receive into our Hands, we shall use thus, and iff Seerhaud [Sarhād] does Otherwise he must be answerable for itt. Butt for y^e^. present we conclude itt necessary to hide our intentions from him, Least he should grow desperate, and by other Clandestine means involve our Masters Affairs in more troubles; and no prospect off any advantage Whereas, The present Scheme should itt Succeed, Attleast the share assigned for us will goe into y^e^. Cash, and iff we can, y^e^. whole. We determine itt is his great necessity for money drives him on these Expedients; off which so long as he has y^e^. least glimpse, he may be quiet 'till we receive our dispatches, have y^e^. papers, and so become Clear off his Clutches.

3rd. We cannot foresee any ill Aspect in y^e^. permitting him to try to satisfy his wants by this Supply, Since in reality we have very little dependance on him in gaining our dispatches butt By Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Salābat Khān], with whom Jn^o^. Surman Clutivates a Good understanding, whereas Seerhaud [Sarhād] says this must be done by Kirperam [Kirpā Rām], and by permitting him, Kirperam [Kirpā Rām] can never Speak ill of us; being in hopes we shall come to his beck, which has been so long refused, and as yett unconcluded. Iff Cojah pursues this matter with Success Our H. Masters will be y^e^. Gainers. Iff itt fails we are Still pursuing y^e^. meanes we Esteem proper for Our dispatches by y^e^. Assistance off Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Salābat Khān] who has hitherto done all our business. From these ratiocinations we make this Inference, and doe Agree That Jn^o^. Surman may seemingly grant A Compliance and by little and little gett farther into his intentions. Butt as a publick Testimony off our designs that we abhor any such practices, we have held this Extraordinary Consultation."

185. Letter XXXII[1].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq[r] Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of Englnad trading to the East Indies & c[a]. Council—In Bengall—

Honourable Sir and Sirs

The Bearer hereof being design'd for Bengall, we take this to be a Secure opportunity to transmit to your Honour & c[a]. Copys of the three Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] under the Cozzee's [*qāẓī's*] Seal, Viz[t]. 1 for Bengall, 1 for Hyderabad, 1 for Amadavad[2], wishing all safe to your Hands.

Dilly,
April 15th,
1717

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
John Surman
Edward Stephenson

C. Seerhaud
Hugh Barker,
Secry,

186 Diary.

April 21st. "Easter Day."

April 22nd "Caundora [Khān Daurān] with ffrivolous Excuses putts off Our dispatch from day to day."

"Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] on one side gives us Great Encouragement, When Caundora [Khān Daurān] on the other putts us off by a pretended Forgetfulness."

April 24th "This being Thursday and Duan-Om [*dīwān-i-'ām*] (att which time Embassadours are Usuall dispatched) Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] pressed Caundora [Khān Dauran] to send us away. Butt Caundora [Khān Dauran] Excusing itt, we find the Necessity to waite another week."

April 25th.

[1] This letter is found in the 'Copy Book of Letters receive from M[r] Surman.'

[2] Ahmadābād, Gujrāt, the *ṣūbah* in which Surat was situated

"Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] finding Caundora [Khān Dauran] so very dilatory, became Angry, and told him that iff we were nott to goe, We ought to have a house and monthly Expences Allowed us, Upon this Caundora [Khān Dauran] swore he would Make an End to day."

April 27th

"The King having signed the Phirds [*fards*] which Caundora [Khān Dauran] presented him for Our dispatch, They were sent to Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Salābat Khān] and from thence to Mr. Surman."

April 28th

First Phird [*fard*]

For the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. President off Bengall.

Guzzaratt [Gujrāt] Goods 100 p[s]

Otter ['itr] 50 Tola [*tolah*]

Jewells Cunger and Fool-katerry [*khanjar* and *fil kaṭāri*] with a pearl-Tossell pudduck.

Elephant [baggage elephant].

Second Phird [*fard*].

For the Envoy & c[a].

Mr. John Surman	A Seerpaw (*sār-o-pā*)
	A Culgee (*kalghi*)
Cojah Seerhaud	A Seerpaw (*sār-o-pā*)
Mr. E. Stephenson	A Seerpaw (*sār-o-pā*)
Mess[rs]. Hamilton, Barker, & Philips	4 Seerpaws (*sār-o-pās*)
For the Honourable Madras President	A Seerpaw (*sār-o-pā*)
For the Honourable Bombay President	A Seerpaw (*sār-o-pā*)

"It must be here observed That the Honourable Bengall President receives an Elephant, above what given to the Generall of Batavia, Butt Mr Surman & c[a]. Less than what was given to the Dutch Legates by Mouzzedeen [Mu'izu-d-dīn]. This was indeed surprizing, considering Our Quadruple present, with the Services that had been done his Majesty, Butt Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] who believed his honour att Stake was in A perfect rage Wherefore Mr Surman considering,

That Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] might endeavour to gett things altered, and thereby Occasion a certain delay without a good prospect off Success, Att Least that could compensate the loss off time, The rains Approaching, he sent a Messenger to entreat him nott to meddle any more to have things Altered, Butt Lett all the King had signed remain. 'That we came here to spend Our Masters money In doing their business, not to heap up riches, nor depending to have Our Labours Crowned with honour here, butt att a return by Our directors. Wherefore Seeing we had happyly finished Our Errant, Altho The King had nott shown the expected Generosity, Yet our Longer Stay would lay an indelible blott upon our reputations'. Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] replyed 'That Since Mr. Surman desired, he would Speak no more about itt,' But we suspect he will nott keep his word. All this we Chiefly impute to the niggardliness of Caundore [Khān Daurān], and doe beleive the King Granted whatever he asked for."

"Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] (as was Suspected) Attacked Caundora [Khān Dauran] in the Durbar [*darbār*]. Itt is certain the Latter spoke only for a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] and Culgee [*kalghi*][1] for Mr. Surman; wherefore he was now desired to speak again to his Majesty. Butt he replyed doe you speak, and I will stand by. Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] said. "That besides the misfortune off being taken from his Royal presence, The Elchy was sorry he could not depart with the same honours the Dutch had formerly." Here he mentioned the particulars—Upon this his Majesty Looked toward Caundora [Khān Dauran] and gave a nod. After this Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] forbid Cooshalchund[2] to proceed with the former Seaw [*siyāhah*], butt to waite fresh Orders from Caundora [Khān Dauran]. Note—Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] did this off his own head."

April 30th

"Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] sent Mr. Surman word he had gott the horse and Cunger [*khanjar*] to be Entered. This Omrah [*umarā*] is so nice off his own honour as to be almost angry with Mr. Surman for nott being more Sollicitious to have things augmented."

May 1st.

[1] *Kalghi*, an aigrette with jewelled locket

[2] *Khushhāl* Chand, the *peshkār* of the *mir bakhshi*

"Mr. Surman & c^a^. visited Caundora [Khān Daurān]. Caundora [Khān Daurān] made Subah of Guzarat, and Caun-Jehaun-Behauder Subah off Agra[1]."

May 2nd

"The King gone on the sand with his women."

May 4th

"Mr. Surman presses Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] to make Caundora [Khān Daurān] fix a day for our dispatch from the King."

May 5th.

"Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] accosting Caundora [Khān Daurān] too warmly in the Durbar [*darbār*] concerning our dispatches, the Latter went away angry, which must cost us some days longer This may be imputed to the possitiveness of Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] for some Alterations"

May 6th

"His Majesty again upon the sand[2]. With his Women, So no business going forward."

May 7th

"Mr. Surman this Evening visitting Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] he received the following Account. Caundora [Khān Daurān] asked his Majesty what he pleased to order for the English Elchy, That Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] was concerned his Majesty had nott consented to his Petition. Upon this the King turning to Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān], said Itt was nott Customary to give so many things att a dispatch, there being no precedent, but Mouzzedeen [Mu'izzu-d-din] which Signified nothing; Nevertheless for his sake he would now give itt. He ordered att the same time That Mr Surman should come the Next Daun-day, [*dīwān*] and receive a Horse and Cunger [*khanjar*], and then the Ensuing Daun [*dīwān*] That he and his Bretheren should be dispatched according to the former Seaw [*siyāhah*] wherein was contained the Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] and Culgee [*kalghī*]. Iff this prove true we may Expect our dispatches the next week."

May 10th

"Mr Surman & c^a^. Expected to have been dispatched to day but were disappointed, tho' Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] promised itt. Cooshalchund [Khūshhāl Chand] said he could nott give the Seaw

May 12th

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[1] According to Kāmwar Khān, Khān Daurān was appointed Governor of Gujarāt on the 1st Jamādi II, 1129 H *i.e.*, the 2nd May, 1717. But he gives A'izzu-d-daulah Khān 'Ālam, instead of Sayyad Khān Jahān as the governor appointed to Agra Akbarābād

[2] On the sandy banks of the Jumna below the fort at Delhi.

[*siyāhah*] for the Cunger [*khangar*] and Horse 'till he had spoke Again to Caundora [Khān Daurān].

"This day Caundora [Khān Daurān] ordered the Seaw [*siyāhah*] mentioned yesterday which was by a Chubdar [*chobdār*] sent to Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān]. Our Vakiles [*vakīls*] being dilatory in this Affair, Mr. Surman rattled them Accordingly. For the things might possibly have been given to day."

May 13th

"The King Abroad with his woman. The Seaw [*siyāhah*] delivered into the proper Offices."

May 14th

"Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] called Mr. Surman to Caundoras [Khān Daurān], saying he should now receive his Horse and Cunger [*khanjar*]. Mr. Surman went to the Daun-Om [*dīwān-i-'ām*] accordingly, butt was disappointed. God knows the reason."

May 15th.

"Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] Again called Mr. Surman & c^a. to the Durbar [*dārbār*], itt being Thursday and Duan Om [*dīwān-i-'ām*]. Butt more strange than before Mr Surman received Another disappointment, altho Sepedar Caun [Sipahdār Khān] was present, and the Buxys peeshcar [*bakhshi's peshkār*] told Caundora [Khān Daurān] the Horse and Cunger [*khanjar*] was ready. This was as hard As Surprizing, Seeing what Mr. Surman was to have, was the rumour off the whole Durbar [*darbār*]. Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] is here Chiefly in fault, for nott well-adjusting this matter beforehand with Caundora [Khān Daurān], butt making us to run fruitlessly up and down, and by that meanes become Extreme light."

May 16th.

"His Majesty on the Sand with his women, and as a mark off his Arbitrary power turning all people Out off the Adjacent houses."

May 19th.

187. Letter XXXIII[1].

To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq^r. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable

[1] This letter was read at a Consultation at Fort St. George on Saturday, the 17th August, 1717. It is consequently found in the Madras Consultation Book as well as in the Copy book of Letters from Mr. Surman.

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c^a^. Council in Bengal.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We wrote your Honours & c^a^. the 9th April to accompany a Bill of Exchange payable to Sawbiparry [*sāhu beoparī*], for the value received here from Murlidar, Bawsein Decanny Eay [Murlidhar Bhāo Sen Dakhinī Rāe], and at large the 10th D^o^. carrying the good news that the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] were intirely finish'd and deliver'd in c^a^ with enclosure of our Accounts & c^a^ for the Month of January and February, we again wrote by Mr Coock bound for Bengall the 15th D^o^ chiefly to accompany Copys of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] which were deliver'd him as (in our Opinion) a very safe Conveyance.

We were in hopes by this Letter to have given your Honour & c^a^. an Account that we had received our dispatches from his Majesty, but as there is very little to be depended on here, so we find our Selves on this Account under no Small Disappointment having never Suspected this trifling matter cou'd have taken up so much time, Our Experience on this Occasion has taught us, that the least Affair cannot be transacted here without the Solemnity of a long and tedious Attendance, thereby enhaunching the favours they grant as to make them hardly worth receiving, our Diary for the Month of April, may be a more proper Index, than what can be contain'd in this Letter. We hoped all had been concluded with the Month, not being much concern'd with the Kings determination for our Dispatches altho' not with the same Honour that was granted the Dutch by Mozzudeen [Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh]. Wherefore we desir'd Sallabutcaun [Salābat Khān] not to request an addition, being Satisfied such pursuit must be attended with loss of time and consequently become expensive to our Honourable Masters, he promis'd very fairly but being nettled at the Disappointment, and that a Woman (such as Bibbe Juliana) shoul'd be able to do that for the Dutch with a Quarter of the present, which was not in his power to effect for us with Such advantageous pleas, made him Storm in private, and resent it to Caundora [Khān Daurān] in very pathetick Terms, neither would he desist, on which Caundora [Khān Daurān] made him

Speake to the King himself his Majesty disputed making the Addition of Cunger [*khanjar*] and Horse for Mr. Surman, as an ill precedent for futurity, but in the End granted it with this Salvo, that it shou'd be given some Duan [*dīwān*] before the time of our Dispatches, that it might remain upon the records as a mark of his favour, and not to be challeng'd by other Nations. We have exerted our Selves to the Utmost on this Occasion in hopes of a speedy Dispatch, so the disappointment can't be laid at our Doors, and we hope our Precedent Behaviour is evident proof that no outside Vanity or Expectations cou'd make us Swerve from our Honourable Masters Interest.

The Phirmaund [*farmān*] in answer to our President's Letter, Seerhaud [Sarhād] tells us has pass'd the Kings Assent, and is writing fair over. And the order for the Honble Robert Hedges Esqrs. Present being gone into the Consomany [*khānsāmānī*], it's now ten days since an Arze [*'arẓī*] went from that Place to his Majesty which is not yet return'd, when it does the Consomma [*khānsāmān*] must give a Dustick [*dastak*] on the Several Officers which at best will take up some time.

The 6 remaining Perwana's]*parwānas*] are after much difficulty Sign'd and Seal'd by the Visier, Copys of 4 of which under the Cozzee's [*qāẓī's*] Seal come enclosed the other two being Seal'd up Vizt.

2 Calculatta Towns	present and to come Ickeram Caun [Akrām Khān].
1 Patna House	Esgar Caun [Asghar Khān]
1 Companys Debtors	Present and to come

The 2 which are Seald are for the Rogues on Jaffereun, [Ja'far Khān], and for Mobaris-Caun[1] Subah of Golcondah, we like-wise enclose another set of Copys of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] under the Cozzces [*qāẓī's*] Seal.

We have drawn the following Bills of Exchange payable 70 Days after date Vizt. 2100 Sicca's to Mr. James Williamson,

[1] Mubāriz Khān, *ṣūbahdār* of Gulkanda Khwājah Muḥammad, Mubāriz Khān, 'Imādu-l-Mulk, Hizbar Jang, was a native of Balkh His first title was Amānat Khān Under his second title 'Shahāmat Khān' he was appointed governor of Ḥaidarbad on the 7th Rabī 'II 1125, or the the 12th May, 1713 N. S. He was son-in-law of 'Ināyatullah Khān Kashmīrī On the 23rd Muḥarram, 1137, or the 11th October 1724 N. S., he was killed in a battle against Niẓāmu-l-Mulk

value received from John Surman 600 Sicca's to Mons[r]. la Bat payable to John Flemmingo.

To both which we desire your Honour & c[a]. will give Due Honour.

Herewith comes Accounts Cash, Warehouse, Charges General and Copys of Consultations for the Months of March and April.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Dilly,
May 19th 1717.

188. DIARY.

"The King sett Daun [*dīwān*] butt nothing done. We believe the Cunger [*khanjar*] nott yett shown his Majesty, Butt the Droga [*dārōghah*] off the Stables has received particular orders concerning the Horse".

May 20th

"C Fanoose[1] An Armenian who came from Suratt, and is Entertained here as the Kings painter, (we hear) has complained to his Majesty Against us, How that 13 Years Agoe he Lost some Corall & c[a] Goods att Bombay which were brought in a ship from Persia[2]."

May 22nd

"Having advice Sepedar Caun [Sipahdār Khān] had shown the Jewells to his Majesty, Mr. Surman & c[a]. returned to the Duan-Om [*dīwān 'ām*] being Thursday, when Mr Surman received a Cunger [*khanjar*] Sett with precious Stones and a Horse, paying the Accustomary, and necessary Obeisance "

May 23rd.

189. CONSULTATION.

"We are obliged to comply with the unreasonableness of the Seerpaw [*sur-o-pā*] Office, that we may gett Our dispatches

[1] Muhammad Ahsān, Ijād, the court historiographer, devotes several pages of highly ornate prose to the wonders shown in Khwājah Fānūs' pictures.

[2] The complaint was apparently frivolous and came to nothing.

May 27th. by any meanes, and itt is for this reason alone that we consent to the payment of 740 rupees to those Gripers, no remedy being to be had. This may serve as a very pretty instance, how the Kings orders are minded, Even upon the Spott."

190. DIARY.

"Mr. Surman & ca. visitted the Grand Vizier. They desired his permission to be dispatched from his Majesty, to which he readyly consented, saying iff he was in the Duan [*dīwān*] he would Speak to the King in their behalf. Then he ordered them, now their business was done, to visitt him frequently, without bringing any thing." May 28th.

"This morning Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] wrote a note to Caundora [Khān Daurān], to know whether we should come to the Durbar [*darbār*], and withall desired, that Chilahs [*chelahs*] might be appointed, to gett ready the Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*]. Upon receipt off this Caundora [Khān Daurān] ordered Coochalchund [Kushḥal Chand] to gett Every thing ready, and that the Elchy [*elchī*] should be present in the Duan [*dīwān*]. Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] advised Mr. Surman off what passed, and of the necessity for him & ca. to go to the Durbar [*darbār*]. Butt that iff he was not dispatched be should nott be Angry, Seeing men off 5000 Munsb.[1] have attended severall weeks when their Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] have nott been ready. This message with the little probability off Chilahs [*chelās*] from Caundora [Khān Daurān], made Mr. Surman Send a Vakile [*vakīl*] with 300 rupees to the Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] Office to tempt them, and orders nott to stand for 200 rupees Extraordinary in Case the Vests were brought ready into the Duany [*dīwān*] today. May 30th

His Majesty Setting in the Daun Om [*dīwān ʽām*] being Thursday Mr. Surman & ca. went accordingly to receive their dispatches Mr. J. Surman received a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] and Culgee [*kalghi*], Every one Else a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*]. When Doctr. Hamlton was making the proper Obeisance for his

[1] An abbreviation of munsub, *i e*, *manṣab*

Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], the King Suddenly and Un-expectedly sent orders from the Throne to Lett Every one Else goe out off the Duan [*dīwān*] (as the custom is for those that are dispatched) butt to place him Again in his Station, the Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] being a mark off the Royall ffavour, and nott for his departure: which orders were obey'd accordingly. When his Majesty rose up, Seerhaud [Sarhād] went to enquire off Caundora [Khān Daurān] the reason, why the Doctor was nott dispatched? to which Caundora [Khān Daurān] reply'd, 'I have spoke to the King twenty times concerning this Affair, and can Speak no more, unless you have a mind to make me rediculous. Wherefore do You petition his Majesty.'

In the Evening Mr. Surman went to Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] (who went nott to the Durbar [*darbār*] today) and After acquainting him with the matter, begg'd he would use his utmost Endeavours with Caundora [Khān Daurān] to gett the Doctor dispatched, for that he would by no meanes be perswaded to Stay, That all the ffavours and riches the King could heap on him would prove no manner off Allurements,—that iff the King had a mind to keep him he must send Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] and putt Irons on his Leggs, and that Even then he would nott so much as accept off the Kings bread, much less his service. The Old Syud [Sayyad] Asked two or three times whether nothing could prevail, but when he was answered No: He promised to be very importunate with Caundora [Khān Daurān], and Even to fall at his ffeett to Obtain it.

Syud Omer [Sayyad 'Umr] Sent the Consommany Dusticks [*khānsāmāni dastaks*] Signed to Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] who gave them to Mr. Surman."

"The King abroad with his women.

Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] went to Caundora [Khān Daurān] where he talked off Mr. Hamiltons Affair, much to the Same Effect as we had told him. Caundora [Khān Daurān] replyed the King was obstinate, he having severall times already Endeavoured to disswade him from itt That his Advice was for Mr. Surman to goe to the Vizier, and Engage his intercession with his Majesty, which when sett on ffoot, he himself would find an opportunity to Speak Effectually. Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] said he wonder'd

June 1

he should send the Elchy to the Viziers, since he had yett never asked any ffavour or had anything to doe with him Since his arrivall and therefore was now likely to meet with a repulse. Caundora [Khān Daurān] said Lett them goe, and In case of refusall I will doe itt myself.

The Bootades [*buyutāt's*] seal must be on our Dusticks [*dastaks*]."

"The Elephant Droga [*dārōghah*] accepted the Dustick [*dastak*] without the Bottades [*buyutat's*] seal; Butt the Others being rejected, Our Vakile [*vakil*] went to Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-dīn-Khān],[1] desiring his seal. He replyed there must be first a petition sent to his Majesty."

June 2nd

191. Consultation[2].

"Having received our dispatches[3] from his Majesty, Itt is our business to Leave this place with the Utmost Expedition, the necessary preparations being made accordingly. Agreed that a sufficient number off Carriages be hired, as the best proposition for Our Tents. Butt as Camells are the most Expeditious and therefore proper for our Own and Servants necessarys, Agreed that a convenient number be bought. The hire off such cattle proving very Extravagant.

June 3rd.
Dilly.

The Way between this place and Coora-Jehaunabad [Kōrah Jahānabād], butt more Especially Agra, being very much infested by Jaats [Jāts] and Mewattys [Mewātīs]; we shall want a sufficient fforce to protect what has been obtained with so much pain and trouble, which att least must be Equall to what came up with us.: Viz^t. 50 Country Horsemen and 400

[1] Zeyāu-d-din Khān had been appointed *buyutāti* at Court on the 22nd Zu-l-qa'dah 1127, *i.e.*, the 8th November, 1715.

[2] This consultation is signed by Thos Phillips "during the indisposition of Mr. Hugh Barker Cojah Seerhaud assenting" Phillips continues to sign up to and including the consultation of the 5th July. The consultation of the 12th July is signed by Hugh Barker as Secretary. "C Seerhaud consents to the purport of this consultation, though the fair copy was not perused by him"

[3] In this and other similar passages "our dispatches" is evidently a rendering of the word *rukhsat*, "formal dismissal" or leave to depart.

peons and Burkundass [*barquandāz*]. Butt that we may have an opportunity to pick those which are Good Itt is thought Convenient to begin taking them in, by Little and Little, and nott att once to receive what we can gett, att any rate they please to impose upon us

Mr. Hamilton being entirely averse to obey the Kings orders by his stay, unless fforced thereto; Itt is our business to weigh this Affair in respect to Our Honourable Masters. We find few dare speak to the King for his Clearance. On the Other side we are satisfyed That should he be kept by force, His stay would be no longer than the first opportunity to Elope. For such a burning desire reigns in him after his own Country, that neither promises nor threats can avail any thing. All this being duely promised, we doe Esteem a modest denyall att present much better than a Seeming complyance, which can contribute nothing to his deliverance. For should he be kept by fforce and Afterwards Escape, The King might very likely vent his Anger on our Honourable Masters Settlements, Supposing us Assistant and consenting thereto, On the Contra, should he by chance have leave to depart, we are all Cleared: Iff nott, His ffortune is try'd and we honestly discharged Our Selves, to the King, Our H· Masters and him also. Besides there is no absolute necessity off making application in our Own names, his own being Every way the most proper. And we are well-nigh Assured there will be no fforce in the Case, Butt that his Majesty used this as his Last Effort to Engage his stay, which when he finds his stiff aversion to, he will wave itt. Agreed that a pathetick petition be drawn up in his name, and that we pay the Vizier a visitt and present itt, According to the Advice and order off our patron Caundora [Khān Daurān] "

192. DIARY

"Mr. Surman & c^a^. carrying Mr. Hamiltons petition to the Grand Vizier, He read itt over with great Attention and immediately ordered another of the same Effect to be wrote and addressed to his Majesty, which was to be transmitted with one from himself. The Vizier said

June 4th.

measures must be taken to release the Doctor, without displeasing his Majesty."

Seerhaud [Sarhād] meeting Zeaudy Caun [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] he was told the Dusticks [*dastaks*] should be signed this morning, butt att the same time said What will you give me Nothing ? which Seerhaud [Sarhād] Evaded with a Jest. The Vakıle [*vakīl*] going afterwards to the Ketcherry [*kachahrī*], The Dusticks [*dastaks*] were sealed and Delivered, after many ffrivolous Excuses off a petition & c^a^.

June 5th.

Seerhaud [Sarhād] says he gave a petition for the Doctor to Co[1]. Manour [Manavvar], which is addressed to the Kings mother. Butt this Affair being very ticklish, few care to Embark in itt However the Eunuch promises to speak about itt."

"The Elephant-Droga [*dārōghah*] Speaking to his Majesty concerning Our Honourable Presidents Elephant, Itt was ordered That the Consomma [*khānsāmān*] Sett a price, and then make his report in a petition. To remedy the delay that must necessarily attend Such Measures, Mr. Surman proposes to give Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] a petition (desiring a price may be sett) to present his Majesty tomorrow and gett signed immediately.

June 6th

The Viziers petition came out sign'd from the King as follows—"Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very willingly have kept him, and given him whatever he should have asked; Butt seeing he is satisfyed with no terms,

I agree to it, provided, After he has gone to Europe, procured Such medicines as are nott to be gott here, and seen his wife and Children, he return once more to visitt this Court: Let him goe."

We have for some time had reports of a Biragy [*bairāgī*] being here to complain That a parcell off Diamonds were taken from him by Gov^r^. Pitt about 10 Years agoe; for which he gave him a bill for a Leck (*lakh*) off R^s^. on Mr. Pattle in the Patna-ffactory, That going there, and the ffactory being withdrawn, He found nobody. Wherefore he went to Calcutta, & there making known the Story to Govern^r^. Hedges, he demanded a

[1] *Co. for Cojah, i.e., khojah, a eunuch*

Sight off the note. Butt the Byragy [*bairāgī*] having private information off his intentions to seize the note and keep him prisoner, he privately gott out off the place, and came here to Complain. This person has been found often att the Viziers gate by our Vakiles [*vakils*], & when Mr Surman & c^{a}. was there Last, he attacked Seerhaud [Sarhād] showing him a Letter which he desired him to open, in which he would find the truth off the Story, Seerhaud [Sarhād] Agreed in Case there were half a dozen substantial Witnesses of what itt contain'd: but otherwise nott. With this Answer he went Away. To day he went into the Viziers Audolett [*'adālat*] and made a publick complaint to the tenour Abovementioned. The Vizier bid Mittersein [Mitr Sen] carry the man to the Elchy and content him, butt upon the Vakiles [*vakils*] coming out to look for him he was nott to be found."

193. CONSULTATION.

"We find the Offices from whence we are to receive the present for the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq^{r}. very dilatory delivering the Severall particulars, and that when induced thereto, unless bribed they will give Goods of no value That we may nott be detained on this account, and to obtain what is Good in its kind, we doe believe itt highly necessary to bribe the Officers, the strictest orders off the King here being hardly obey'd without itt.

Dilly, June 7th, 1717

Ordered That these Affairs be adjusted by the Vakiles [*vakils*] Accordingly.

There has been an agreement with the Carriers for 10 Carriages with 4 Oxen from hence to Patna att 95 Rs Each & 5 Carriages with 2 Oxen att 47½ To march hence in 20 days Or Else pay demurrage at 8 Rs and 4 Annas pr day. All stops Excepted that may be occasioned by the violence off the Rains. Agreed that 209 Rs be paid beforehand."

194. DIARY.

June 7th

"Mr. Surman gave Sallabut Caun[Ṣalābat K͟hān] the three following petitions.

1. To his Majesty for a price to the Elephant.

The other two to Caundora [Khān Daurān] for Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] and Chilah [*chelā*], and for way-dusticks [*dastaks*] and Husbullhoocums [*hasbu-l-ḥukms*] on the Severall Subahs [*ṣūbadars*] These Last being delivered, Caundora [Khān Daurān] order'd Cooshalchund [Khūshḥāl Chand] to give the Seaw [*siyāhah*] for the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] and Chilah [*chelā*] and to write the Dusticks [*dastaks*] and Husbullhoocums [*ḥasbu-l-hukms*]."

195. Letter XXXIV[1].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. Governour of For William and President for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c^a. Council In Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

Our last to your Honour & c^a. was dated 18th Ult° [2] enclosing four Copies of the remaining Perwannaes [*parwānas*], Viz^t. Calcutta Towns 1 present and to come, for D. 1 on Eckeramcaun [Akrām Khān], Patna House 1 on Esgar Caun [Aṣghar Khān], Companys Debtors one, as also a set, of copies of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] under the Cozzees [*qāzi's*] Seal by that Conveyance we likewise sent our Accounts Cash, Warehouse, and Charges General with Copys of our Consultations for the Months March and April, which we hope will arrive in due time, having already sent two Sets of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*], we shall not repeat them till we hear they are arriv'd or farther Orders, we now send foure more of the above-mention'd Perwannaes [*parwānas*].

The 23rd Ult°. John Surman received from his Majesty an Horse and Cunger [*khanjar*], as was preappointed, and the 30th D. we were sent for by Caundora [Khān Daurān], to receive our Dispatches, which we had accordingly, a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] and Culgee [*kalghi*] being given to John Surman,

[1] This letter was read at a consultation at Fort St George on Monday, the 9th September, 1717 It is also found in the Copy Book of Letters from Mr. Surman.

[2] The date should be the 19th.

Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] to Surhaud [Sarhād] and Edward Stephenson, as likewise to the rest of our Companions, we were ordered to pass, one by one to our Obeysance then to move from the Duan [*dīwān*], we did so· but when it came to Mr. Hamiltons Turn he was told the King had granted him a vest as a Mark of his Favour but not for his dispatch, so was order'd up to his Standing again, whilst he was performing this, the King got up. We were highly Surpriz'd at this unexpected Motion, not having the least Notice of it till that Minute either from our Patron or any to Authority, it being near a twelve Month since Mr. Hamilton had been in private with his Majesty, and in all this time not the least notice taken, we were very much concern'd at his Detainment, and the more because we were assur'd of his firm Aversion to accepting the Service, even with all its Charms of vast pay Honour & c^a. that if the King did detain him by force, if he out-liv'd the Trouble of his Esteem'd Imprisonment, he might be endeavouring at an Escape, which every way had it's ill Consequences, to free our Honourable Masters from any Damages that might accrue to them, from the Passionate Temper of the King, our Patron Caundora was applyed to for leave, twice or thrice he positively denied to speak, or even have a hand in this Business till our Friend Syud Sallabut Caun [Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān] had an Opportunity to lay the Case open to him, when he order'd us to speak to the Visier, and if by any means we cou'd gain him to intercede, that he would back it, nay if the the Visier refused, he wou'd make one Effort for the Doctor himself, nay Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] promis'd to convince the King himself in case of any Delay, pursuant to our Patron's Directions we made a Visit to the Visier the 4th Inst. and laid the case Open to him in a Petition from Mr. Hamilton, of how little Service he could be without any Physick, Language, or Experience in the Country Medicines or their Names, besides which the Heartbreaking distractions off being parted for ever from his wife and children[1] wou'd be insupportable, and intirely

[1] No mention of wife or children is made in Hamilton's will, and, as I read Hamilton's personal history, they were really prospective His desire was to return home to be married, but perhaps for the sake of argument with his Majesty, it was thought better to assume that the doctor was so already. Hamilton's hypothetical wife and children were, no doubt, strong points in the grand vizier's pathetic address.

take away his Qualifications for the Kings Service, that under the favour of his Majesty Clemency, with the utmost Submission he desir'd he might have leave to depart with us, from our Selves we informed the Visier, that we shou'd have esteem'd this as a very great Honour, but finding the Doctor under these Troubles not to be perswaded, we were oblig'd to lay the case before his Majesty, and that in this case none so proper as himself, withall that we humbly desir'd he would use his Intercessions to the King that his Majesty might be prevail'd upon to dispatch him. The good Visier readily offered to use his utmost Endeavours, and Since the case was so, the Business was to gain the Doctor's Dispatch without displeasing the King, and order'd a Petition to be drawn up to his Majesty in the same Form, as that given to himself directed to the King and sent him, which he wou'd forward with one from himself; it was sent him and the Visier was as good as his word, writing a very pathetick address to his Majesty, enforcing Mr. Hamiltons reasons, and backing them with his own Opinion "That it was better to let him go. The King return'd an Answer which came out the 6th as follows, "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I wou'd very fain have kept him, and given him whatsoever he shou'd have ask'd, but seeing he can't be brought on any Terms to be content, I agree it, and on condition that after he has gone to Europe, procur'd such Medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and Children, he return to visit the Court once more, let him go." We hope in God this Troublesome Business is now blown over.

The Phirmaund [*farmān*] for the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. is wrote fair and gone to the Suddera-Suddool [*ṣadru-ṣ-ṣadur*] for the broad Seal, it's open and will have the Visiers Seal on it, and is more like a General Phirmaund [*farmān*] than an Answer to a Letter, so without doubt will be of great Service.

The Present order'd for the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. the Consomma [*kẖānsāmān*] has given his Dusticks [*dastaks*] for the Delivery of the Goods, on the Several Officers, we are getting them in as soon as possible.

The rains are setting in here, but however we intend to leave this Place with all the Expedition we can preparing Carriage and taking in Servants, altho' it may be impossible to

March when the Waters are up, but it's absolutely necessary to leave this Place, Tho' our Journey may be Stopt at Agra.

The King notwithstanding his many Oaths made to the Contrary has lately imposed the Gigea (Poll Tax)[1] we had some Apprehensions they were going to rip up old Stories but as yet it has extended no farther than a Surmise, we have esteem'd it for our Honourable Masters Interest not to make any Addresses to the King, for fear of bringing our late Grants in Question. The only Place where the Tax was paid by the English was at Surat, and there in Lieu of it was an Additional Custom which Custom being intirely taken away and a Peescash [*peshkash*] plac'd in its Stead, we hope the Phirmaund [*farmān*] now obtained will be esteem'd Sufficient to fend off this Imposition, altho' it is not improbable there may be some Trouble about it, shou'd it be laid on other European Nations.

We design to write to your Honour &c^a^. again as soon as we leave this City, in the Interim we remain,

Dilly, June 7th, 1717.

Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient humble Servants

C Seerhaud Assenting
Hugh Barker Sec^ry^.

John Surman
Edward Stephenson

P.S.

Herewith comes Copy of the Phirmaund [*farmān*] for the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq in answer to his Arzdust [*'arz-dāsht*] to his Imperial Majesty."

196. DIARY.

"The Jewell-office insists upon 800 rupees for the Value off 2,400 rupees. The Peeshcar [*peshkār*] off the Elephants told our Vakile [*vakīl*], That our Elephant was only procurable in time, by a present to the Droga

June 10th

[1] The reimposition of the *jizyah* was one of the first acts of 'Ināyutulla Khān after he became *dīwān* See Khāfī Khān, II, 775.

[*dāroghah*]. The business off the Cloth is made up for 250 rupees."

June 11th — "The Affair off the Jewell-office is concluded for 600 rupees.

"Mr. Surman & cª. went to return the Vizier thanks for the Doctors Clearance, Cutbulmoolk [Quṭbu-l-mulk] bid the Doctor to bring his Wife and ffamily with him. Mr. Surman said this great generosity off his Majesty in permitting the Doctor to visitt his Own Country, had so Obliged him, that he would make a Speedy return. Then Mr. Surman presented two petitions for Dusticks [*dastaks*] and Husbulhooeums [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukms*] for the way. To this he Answer'd That Dusticks [*dastaks*] should be given As also two Husbulhoocums [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukms*] on Chivileram[1] and Nosserut Year Caun[2], Subahs [*ṣubadārs*] off Illaabas [Allahābād] and Agra, Butt for the Other two (meaning Seerbulund Caun[3] and Jaffor Caun [Ja'far Khān]) they must goe to the Other (Caundoras [Khān Daurān's]) house, for that he never wrote to them. The Other petition being for a recommendatory Letter to Hossein-Ali-Caun [Ḥusain 'Alī Khān], concerning Divy Island and Madrass Five Towns, He immediately ordered his Moonchy [*munshī*] to write whatever should be desired. Concerning the Byragys [*bairāgīs*] Affair, Itt was wished there might be a through Examination and iff there was any Obligation they were ready to fulfill itt, But desiring, that, iff itt was a forged lye, he might be punished accordingly."

"Besides the Seaw [*siyāhah*], Sallabut Caun [Salābat Khān] spoke to the Droga [*dāroghah*] for a very good Elephant, Butt he

[1] Chhabīlah Rām, Nāgar, was appointed governor of Allahābād on the 28th Zū-l-ḥijjah, 1127, *i e*, the 14th December, 1715 and died there at the end of the year 1131 (13 Nov 1718 to 2 Nov. 1719) His biography is in Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā, II, 328

[2] Ruknu-d-daulah, Sayyad Nusrat Yār Khān, Bārhah, was made deputy to Samṣāmu-d-daulah at Akbarābad on the 5th Jamādī, 1127 *i e*, the 28th April 1715. He was afterwards governor of Patna 'Azīmābād. His name was Hidāyatullah, and he was a native of the village Kaiṭhora, now in the Muzaffarnagar district He died at Delhi on the 22nd Ramaẓān, 1134 *i.e.*, the 25th June, 1722

[3] Mīr Muḥammad Rafī,' a native of Tūn in Persia, was entitled Mubārizu-l-Mulk, Sarbuland Khān, Bahadur, Dilāwar Jang. He and prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān had married sisters. He was appointed to Patna on the 25th Zu-l-qa'dah, 1127, *i.e*, the 11th November, 1715 He was superseded by Khān Zamān, Bahādur, on the 22nd Rabī, 'I 1130 *i e*, the 12th February 1718. He died at the age of 69 on the 13th Zū-l-qa'dah 1154 *i e.*, the 9th January, 1742. Ja'far Khān means, of course, the governor of Bengal.

June 12th

replyed There being none good here, he had sent 30 Coarce [*kos*] to Bans-Birelly[1] to bring them from thence Upon our Vakiles [*vakīls*] saying there was a present providing for him, he ordered itt to be brought—The Droga [*dāroghah*] off the purfume-Office[2] like all the rest Expects to be bribed, pretending he receives 200 rupees for Every 2 Tolla His Majesty gives any Omrah [*umarā*]."

June 13th

"The Jewells and Cloth are sett apart for the Honourable Robert Hedges, and Only waite his Majestys perusall.

Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] for the three Honourable Presidencys were brought home, 440 rupees being first paid.

Mr Surman &c[a] visitted Caundora [Khān Daurān]. Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] says he spoke to Caundora [Khān Daurān] about the Goorze-burdars [*gurzbardārs*] but without Success. Our Tents gone out to Barrapoola [Bārapulah.]"

"Seerhaud [Sarhād] asked leave to give 40 or 60 rupees To the Begum and Eunuch for dispatch in Sealing the Honourable Presidents Phirmaund [*farmān*] which was approved of"

June 15th

"The Biragy [*bairāgī*] sent by the hands off one of the Viziers Jessowls[3] The Letter he pretends was given him by Governour Pitt. The direction was a perfect Scrawl, and no letters of any nation.

June 16th

A Dustick [*dastak*][4] for the way and Husbulhoocums [*hasbu-l-hukums*] on the four Subhas [*subahs*][5] under the Meer Buxy [*mir bakshi*] (Omeer All Omrahs [*amiru-l-umarā's*]) seal were brought As likewise four Husbulhoocums [*hasbu-l-hukums*] under Caundoras [Khān Daurān's] Own Seal. Mr. Surman sending to the Vizier to know when he should come and take his leave, he returned Answer he would first Speak to his Majesty, and then Appoint a day"

[1] Bāns Bareli, the popular name of Bareli in Rohilkhand as distinguished from Rāe Bareli in Oudh

[2] "The perfume office", *i e*, the *karkarāq-khānah*, one of the many imperial *karkhanahs* under the *khānsāmān*

[3] *Yasāwal*, an armed messenger or attendant.

[4] *Dastak*, a written order, from *dast*, the hand.

[5] The four *sūbahs*, or rather six *ṣūbahs*, of the Deccan of which Husain 'Alī Khān was then governor Husain 'Ali Khān was the first or *mīr bakhshī* and *amīru-l-umarā* His official Seal at Court was held by the Second *bakhshī Khān* Daurān, as his deputy.

"The Mutsuddys [*muṭasaddīs*] off the Jewell Office say that iff 600 rupees be given before hand, The Jewells shall be shown his Majesty tomorrow; Otherwise not."

June 17th.

"Seerhaund [Sarhād] says Caundora [Khān Daurān] has promised the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*]. Seerhaud [Sarhād] likewise advises that he has gott all the Perwannas [*parwānas*] in his possession.

June 18th

Mr. J. Surman sent 600 rupees into the Jewell-Office with Orders to deliver itt, in case the Jewells were shown to the King, and given to the Valike [*vakīl*] Butt his Majesty not setting out Sepedar Caun [Sipahdār Khān] the Droga [*daroghah*] was nott in the Fort, Wherefore the money was brought back, without Any Effect."

"The Jewells were carried to Sepidar Caun [Sipahdār Khān] in the Durbar [*darbār*], butt he made a frivolous Excuse for nott showing them these three or four days."

June 19th

197 CONSULTATION.

"The Culcutta Perwannas [*perwānas*] have been long in Suspence whether they would have been Ever gained. Seerhaud [Sarhād] says they are now perfectly done, with the Subanavises [*Ṣubhanavīs*] signing upon them and all the rest; Butt that 600 rupees was Expended in gaining those for Culcutta and 800 rupees must be given for the Signing the whole."

June 20th.

198. DIARY.

"The day nott being fixed for Our dispatch from the Vizier, no proposition can be made to Caundora [Khān Daurān] on that head, which Last may take up some time, thereby greatly hindering our speedy departure (Hoping in four or five days to have nothing Else to delay us). Wherefore Mittersein [Mitr Sen] is ordered to lay our condition before Munsoor Caun [Manẓūr Khān] and desire him to represent itt to the Vizier, That he had been pleased to order Mr. Surman nott to desire his leave, till within three or four days

June 20th.

of his departure, which time being come there was nothing Else to stop him, and that the Charges were very great, all necessary Servants being taken in."

"Mittersein [Mitr Sen] according to Mr. Surmans directions wrote a note to Munzoor Caun [Manẓūr Khān], which was by him sent in to the Vizier. He order'd a petition to be wrote to the King about his dispatch; Yett was there some demand off Security made for the Doctors return. Mr. Hamilton gave an obligation under his own Seal."

June 22nd

"The Vizier approved off the Doctors obligation. The Vizier much out off order."

June 23rd.

"The Jewells were carryed to the King, who ordered the Droga [*dārogḥah*] to bring such things only on Tuesday and Fridays."

June 24th.

"The Viziers petition is Come Out. The King has ordered him to give the Doctor something.

June 25th

Our Vakile [*vakīl*] and the peeshcar [*peshkār*] off the Jewell-Office pressed the Droga [*dārogḥah*] to shew the Jewells, butt without Success This gives us cause to Suspect he has no share in the bribe off 600 rupees"

"The peeschar [*peshkār*] off the Jewell-Office gives great Assurances that all will be finished on Friday next.

June 26th

The Vizier sent two petitions to his Majesty, One relating to Mr. Surmans dispatch The other for the Doctor. The King order'd a Horse and Culgee [*kalghī*] for Mr. Surman and Horse for Mr. Hamilton Mr. Surman procured two Horses more for Seerhaud [Sarhād] and Mr. Stephenson, for sake of a proper Decorum to the world."

"The Carriers demurrage commences this instant. This being the Day Appointed by the Vizier, Mr. Surman & ca. sett out, butt returned when gott half way, The Vizier having changed his mind and Appointed the 30th Instant."

June 28th

199 CONSULTATION.

"We have this day received Our Dispatches from the Vizier. This Minister told us that the King was resolved to punish the

Dilly, June 30th. Portugueze for their insolence, and that forces would be ordered upon Goa. He desired that the English would assist upon this occasion. He was Answered, That unless we were at open war with them in Europe, we dare nott break the peace. Butt he seeming nott satisfyed with this answer proposed the French to Zeady Caun [Ẓeyāu-d-dīn Khān]; who answered, "I shall be able to manage this Affair. Itt is absolutely necessary that our settlements off Bombay and that Coast hear this news Wherefore Agreed that we dispatch itt with all possible Expedition."

200. DIARY.

"The Vizier dispatched Mr. Surman &c^a^. in the following manner. For Mr. Surman Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], Horse and Clugee [*kalghi*], Seerhaud Seerpaw, Horse and Clugee [*kalghi*], Messrs Stephenson and Hamiton Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*] and Horses. The Vizier Charged the Doctor to return for that he was his Security. He desired our Assistance against the Portugueze butt received the same answer as formerly.

June 30th

Note—The Culgees [*kalghis*] were sent home to Mr. Surman and Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] Seeing none butt his Majesty orders the fixing them on people heads."

"Our Friend Syud Sallabut Caun Behauder [Sayyad Ṣalābāt Khān Bahādur] had a son born. Being with his Majesty on this occasion, He was gently reprimanded that Mr. Hamilton could nott be introduced (*sic*) to Stay. Butt the King spoke very favourably off the Embassy in Generall."

July 3rd.

201. LETTER XXXV[1].

"To the Honourable ROBERT HEDGES ESQ. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable

[1] This letter and the following one are to be found in the 'Letter Book of Mr. Surman.'

Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies & c[a]. Council in Fort William.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

Having drawn a Bill of Exchange this Instant on your Honour &c[a]. for twelve Thousand Sicca Rupees of 10½ Massa [*māshah*] and the 6th Years Stamp payable to Sawbiparry [*sāhū beopārī*] or Order for value received here of Govind Ray Keerutsein [Govind Rāe Kīrat Sen] Factors to Kissoray Kissenchund, [Keshū Rāe Kishan Chand] we send this to advise thereof, and shall hope for your Honour & c[as]. ready Compliance.

Dilly,
July 5th, 1717

We are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

HUGH BARKER Secretary.

202. LETTER XXVI

"To the Honourable ROBERT HEDGES ESQ Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c[a]. Council in Fort William.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

This Serves to accompany a Bill of Exchange drawn this Instant on your Honour & c[a] for thirteen thousand Sicca Rupees of 10½ Massa [*māshah*] and the 6th Years Stamp to Sawbiparry [*sāhu beopārī*] or Order, being for value receiv'd here from Murlidar Bawsein Decanne Ray [Murlīdhar Bhāe Sen Dakhinī Rāe] Factors to Kissoray Kissenchund [Keshū Rāe Kishan Chand], we hope you will give due Honour to said Bill,

Dilly,
July 5th, 1717

and are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

HUGH BARKER Secretary.

203. DIARY.

"Mr. Surman & c^{a}. were dispatched from Caundora [Khān Daurān], Mr. Surman receiving Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], Horse, and Culgee [*kalghī*], The rest Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*]. Att coming away presented some phirds [*fards*], About the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] receiving the Honourable Presidents Phirmaund [*farmān*], and Other Smaller Articles. Caundora [Khān Daurān] gave his Service to Our Honourable President, and all other chiefs in India."

July 11th.

"The Tents all sett up in Barrapoola [Bārah-pulah]

July 14th.

After much trouble and some Expence The Honourable Presidents Elephant is come home. About 300 rupees Ready money given Among the Drogas [*dāroghah's*] Servants."

"The Honourable Presidents Jewells come home.

July 15th

Seerhaud [Sarhād] has, by the favour of Gungaram [Gangarām], gott severall Copys off the Honourable Presidents phirmaund [*farmān*] under the Cozzys [*qāẓī*'s] Seal.

Cooshalchund [Khūshhāl Chand] has given the Seaw [*siyāhah*] for another Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] called Furruck-beg Caun [Farrukh Beg Khān], who will proceed to Suratt."

204. CONSULTATION.

"The affair of Kirperam [Kirpārām], concerning a former Agreement, has occasioned severall Fruitless disputes, without coming to Any conclusion. Seerhaund [Sarhād] now advises That he had heretofore Agreed with that Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*] pursuant to consultation, to give from 10 to 15,000 rupees in case he Effected all our business; butt should he only become Assistant and nott the Chief Instrument, then to receive a present of 3 or 4,000 rupees. Itt is certain he has only conformed himself to the Latter by showing Hyderacooly Cauns [Ḥaidar Qulī Khān's] Letters to Caundora [Khān Daurān] & c^{a}. Nevertheless, to prevent any mischief he may doe us with Hydera Cooly Caun [Haidar Qulī Khān] att Suratt, itt may nott be

impolitick to advance upon the small present formerly promised him. This person being att first Introduced by Seerhaud [Sarhād], has from the beginning been entirely under his management. Seerhaud [Sarhād] being the proper Judge, and yett Backward to Explain himself, has now been the more Strenuously desired to declare what Sum is sufficient to be given. To which he replys, That instead off 10,000 rupees, he will nott consent to give more than 7000 rupees, off which 700 must be deducted. We doe Suppose, and hope this Sum will prevent his enrolment among our Enemys; For this reason Agreed that Mr. John Surman deliver itt.

"C. Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] having brought in y^e^. following Account to this board, Itt is Accordingly taken into Consideration

Syrash[1]	..	26 Chests ..	..	2600
Arrack	..	.. ..	..	481
Black-Cases	..	.. ..	..	2400
Pallankeens		Fitting & making 1	..	688
Camells	..	.. 3	..	532
Padree	..	.. ..	..	875
			Rs.	7576

Expostulative Remarks on the Foregoing Account.

Mess^rs^. Surman & Stephenson. For Y^e^. 26 Chests we are ready to give 60 rupees per Chest According to Mr. Stephensons sale.

C. Seerhaud I cannot allow mine att 100 per Cent, having paid 800 rupees freight from Bengall.

Note. He had 10 Carriages from y^e^. Company, and might have had more in case he had demanded them and Came out in time

Mess^rs^. Surman & Stephenson The Arrack which he charges was given away by him without our Cognizance. We cannot

[1] Probably this was *Shīrāz* wine in bottles.

According to our Instructions, allow anything, butt what is given away by a generall order in Consultation.

Messrs. Surman & Stephenson. We are willing to allow his pallankeen, iff he brings in ye. particulars, The gilding with Gold Expected; for which there was no manner of Occasion.

Messrs. Surman & Stephenson. We are willing to allow and pay for his Camells on condition off his procedure with us; and have provided more for his Use.

C. Seerhaud I have bought ye. Camells this year and a half for my own use, and have now brought in ye. account, which is nott allowed.

Messrs. Surman & Stephenson. The padree is an Affair off his own conclusion. And as we could never gett his account Specify'd in a former Consultation, so cannot pay ye. money; butt refer itt to ye. Honble President and Councill.

There is Likewise another Account of Durbar-Charges Amounting to 8742-2, butt being irregular, we required ye. particulars off what Goods he had given away. Having Little to say against itt, we are ready to pay ye. money on receipt off said particulars. C. Seerhaud [Khwajah Serhād] att present refuses to take this Last, because we allow nott the whole.

Three months and Eight days have been Elapsed in making the Honourable Robert Hedges phirmaund [*farmān*] ready, which might have been much sooner Effected, had Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] been hearty in the pursuit. For according to his own confession 'twas butt a work of 15 days. Having nothing left to detain us Longer in Dilly, we propose to Leave the City the 18th Instant. Wherefore if the phirmaund [*farmān*] is nott delivered Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] must be answerable for any delay that Ensues.

Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] replys to this Allegation, 'That he has no manner off business, Butt that all his Accounts amounting to 19000 rupees being refused to be paid, He cannot goe with Mr. Surman, being unable to clear Accounts with his Creditors. Wherefore he must stay here till he hears from and is relieved by the Honourable President and Councill. In return to this Messrs. Surman and Stephenson are ready to pay what may appear reasonable, and to be answer'd to our Honourable Masters. For any thing Farther, there must be an Excuse.

Butt They are well satisfyd, that is nott the reason: he having Enter'd into a sea off business off his own att the Court, to Effect which cannot take up Less than three or four Months.'

205. DIARY.

"Having sent Every thing before, Mr. Surman after taking Leave off Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān], and recommending Mittersein [Mitr Sen] to his favour; Left the the City of Dilly, and arrived in the Tents att Barrapoola [Bārahpulah]. Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] remains in the City. He was in the morning with Mr. Surman, talking over his Account

July 18th.

Note.—The difference is about 4000 rupees. Mr. Surman asked whether so small a Sum could hinder his procedure ? On which he affirmed that to be the Only reason of his stay. Upon this he went home, and from that time never Encounter'd any one off the Negotiation.

Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] sent to Mr. Surman for 700 rupees more for Kirperam [Kirpārām], which he intended to save as Dustore [*dustūrī*], butt nott Allowed by that Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*], Mr. Surman reply'd, send his Servant to me and I will deliver itt; which nott being performed the money was Saved."

206. Letter XXXVII[1].

To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. Governor of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies & c^{a}. Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We wrote your Honour & c^{a}. the 7th June giving an Account of our having received our dispatches from his Majesty & c^{a}. we also wrote your Honour & c^{a}. two Letters of the 5th Inst. to

[1] This letter is found in the 'Copy Book of Letters' received from Mr. Surman.

accompany 2 Bills of Exchange, one for 13000 and one for 12000 Siccas then drawn, payable to Sawbiparry [*sāhū beopāri*], for the value received here from Gololchundsaw's [Gulāl Chand Sāhū's] Factors.

We found our Selves necessitated to take our leaves in form from the Visier and Caundora [Khān Daurān], which we have at last after Severall Delays effected, from the Visier the last Ulto. and from Samsama Dowlah[1] the 10th Inst. after which having received the present order'd by his Majesty for the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. we found it our business to leave the City which accordingly we did yesterday in the afternoon, first taking our leave of Sallabut Cawn [Ṣalābat Khān] and Zeudy Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān]. There now remains nothing of any business to detain us, but the Phirmaund [*farmān*] in answer to the Honourable Robert Hedges Esqrs. Petition. This has been writing and going on according to the dilatory was of Cojah Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhad], above these three months, which he promis'd to do in 15 days and might as well have been finish'd in a Month as a year, but it being the only thing He had the management of in our dispatches, he is resolv'd to make that Subservient to his own Designs and we fear detain us some days, it has received the Kings and the Viser's Seals, and Seerhaud [Sarhād] has likewise taken attested Copys which has been done privately, for it is to have a Cover on it and another Seal in Wax, to receive this it went about two or three days since, and is the only thing remaining, we protest against Seerhaud Israel[2] for this unnecessary delay, and declare that He is answerable for the Expences we are oblig'd to be at in the Stay we make at present, for had we received the Phirmaund [*farmān*], we could have proceeded today. It's very plainly his fault, for instead of minding that, he has all along run after his own business, or otherwise had he attended it, according to his own confession it might have been done in a few days. We have told him very roundly on this occasion what he may expect, and what he is answerable for, for fear he might play us a Trick, of which we had

[1] Samsāmu-d-daulah, *i e*, Khān Daurān.

[2] Here we get the full name Sarhād Isrāil, or Sarhad Israel, perhaps Sarhad, the son of Israel. The full name occurred before in the protest of the 14th March, 1715, p. 27.

some Suspicion, we did what we cou'd to prevent it, by getting an order for the Gurzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] to carry it with the Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], but his dustick [*dastak*] as yet not being ready, he cannot go to demand it, we shall make the proper use of this and get away as soon as possible, for our Stay must be very Expensive.

For some time past we have Suspected Seerhaud [Sarhād] wou'd Stay behind us, having entangled himself in his own and other Peoples Affairs. For his own he has petition'd the King to have the title of Girra-ke-rock, or Royall Merchant and deliver'd in a List of what rarities he is able to buy in all Europe, Turkey, China and Japan, but the true design is only to get the Title of Kings' Merchants to be a Protection whereever he goes, and also a necessary thing towards Saving his Customs. The King Sign'd it different to his Expectation, leaving out the desir'd Title, and ordering the Consomman [*khānsāmān*] to examine what is proper and then to give the order for a Phirmaund [*farmān*] for that alone, for this month past we have been always egging him on to get in a readiness to depart with us, which he always promis'd but never performing, we were aware of that Trick of getting money from us, and then Staying behind, which finding he could not obtain, he brought in his Account of Durbar [*darbār*] Expences & c[a]. which was mostly expended by order of Consultation, and our Knowledge, for which reason we were ready to pass and pay it, but he had got other Demands which he tack'd to it, viz[t].

	rupees.
Syrash Wine expended and given away 26 Chests	2600
Arrack	481
Black Cases given away . .	2400
Pallankeen fittings with Gold and mending the old one at Severall times	688
Paid Pad.ce	875
Camels	532
	7576

In answer to this we reply'd for the Wine if he wou'd be contended as others had given it the Company, Viz[t]. about 60 rupees p[r]. Chest, he should have it, for the Arrack he has expended and gave it away without our Knowledge, for the black cases they all cost about 500 rupees in Calcutta so the first

exception is the extravagant rate he would impose, besides he was frequently forbid to make use of them on the Company's Account who shou'd not pay that unreasonable rate, he was advis'd to dispose of them otherwise, excepting all this if any had been given it being without our Knowledge or Consent, we cou'd not answer the passing it, for the Pallankeans & ca. we were willing to allow of, except the Gilding with Gold Bamboes Ends, Cullasses[1] & ca. for which there was no manner of occasion neither was it seeming for him to use them, for the Camels we were willing to pay for them in case of his procedure and have provided more for him, but otherwise not. The Affair of the Padre is of his own conclusion and as yet we cou'd (not) get any thing of that Account; so we cou'd not pay that money, but refer'd it to the Honourable President and Council. When all this was pen'd in a Consultation, Cojah Surhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] declared that except all was allow'd of, he wou'd not receive what we had pass'd, and without the whole Sum he could not nor wou'd not proceed, but Stay till such time as he had receiv'd Remittances from the Honourable President and Council, Sufficient for the above and to enable him to come down, so at present he remains in the City and for his farther Intentions we dare not answer seeing he is so very unaccountable that the like was never heard of.

Your Honour & ca. dated May the 27th came to hand the 2nd Instant.

We formerly advised your Honour & ca. that all the Sunnuds [*sanads*] were finished, and have sent two Setts of the 7 Latter Copys., the Originals and Copys Seerhaud [Sarhād] has at last deliver'd to John Surman, as also the old Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] and Papers after some put offs.

For the Copys of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] which Seerhaud [Sarhād] sent your Honour & ca., it was done without our Knowledge, and so Slyly that the Cozzees [*qāzi's*] mark was not on the Originals when he deliver'd them as it ought to have been and was afterwards, it's certain we did for some time omit sending your Honour & ca. Copys of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*], but it was so far from a Neglect that it was a Piece of Policy

[1] *Kalas* is a finial.

design'd to hasten Seerhaud [Sarhād] to finish the Sunnods [*sanads*] and get them all Sign'd telling him that we wou'd not remit them till we had received the Perwannaes [*parwānas*] finish'd, which after we had wrote your Honour & cª. so often wou'd be done in a few days, he had Still some delay behind. This had the desir'd Effect and we hope your Honour & cª. received the Copys of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] by Mr. Coock and those sent afterwards, besides which we had some intimation, that he had privately got Copys and sent them down, which when he confessed to us afterwards, we told him what we conceiv'd wou'd be your Honour & cª 's Opinion of it which he has now found true.

The 3986.6.3 your Honour & cª. mention of Bernasseats [Vārānasi Sett's] is Current money of Dilly, the batta of which from new Sicca's is 3½ per cent we have now made an End of that Affair having sold all their Goods as well as possibly we cou'd and adjusted their Accounts, which comes enclos'd, we desire your Honour & cª. wou'd please to pay them their Balance, Current money of Dilly, Batta as above.

Pursuant to your Honour & cª's. Orders we have pitcht upon a Person for a Vaqueel [*vakīl*] by name Mittersein [Mitr Sen], and agreed with him for 75 rupees per Month Pay, and 25 rupees per Month allowance for petty Durbar [*darbār*] Expences, We leave him 600 rupees being 6 months pay in the hands of Gololchundsaw's [Gulālchand Sāhū's] Factors, to be paid him monthly, we shall give him the proper Instructions before we dispatch him, for what Orders your Honour & cª. shall think fit to give, the Letters, if deliver'd to Gololchandsaw's [Gulālchand Sāhū's] Factory, will reach his hands, by whose means we shall order him to send his to your Honour & cª. we have likewise pitcht on another Shoroff [*ṣurrāf*] for Surat, but from Madras, hence there is so very little Correspondence, that we believe the quickest method will be *via* Bengall, in our Instructions to him and by word of Mouth, we shall have a due regard to your Honour & cª's Orders, not to be chargeable to the Company, or offer to put them to any Expence without a peculiar Order.

We hope our Stay here cannot be longer than 4 or 5 days, when we shall use the utmost Expedition that the Weather will

permit, the Rains as yet have not been Severe in these Parts so may be expected violent, we fear our Arrival at Patna will be after the rains are over, for the Ground between that City and Elaabass[1] is so Swampy, besides the Rivers will be difficult to pass, as well as the Rivulets, where there are no boats, by this Your Honour & c^{a}. may believe our Journey will be tedious, and if that you think it convenient to have us down by water from Patna, it will be necessary to have good Budgrows, and as soon as we shall receive Advices we shall give Orders to have what other boats there will be occasion for to carry our Lumbar. For the Companys Horses and Camels we believe part of them may go off at Cassimbazar, and for what can be dispos'd of at Patna we shall Sell' but for to Stay on the Account will enhaunce the already vast Expence, we are and have been at Short Allowance of Liquor for some time, by the boats we hope your Honour & c^{a}. will please to consider us.

The Roads between this Place and Agra on Account of the Rebellion of the Jaats [Jāts] are very troublesome by reason of their Excursions, not having any other Company we are oblig'd to keep a good Force, for the protection of those invaluable Jewells, but we assure your Honour & c^{a}. nothing shall be added but what is absolutely necessary.

Enclosed comes Accounts Cash Warehouse Charges General, and Copys of Consultations for the Month (of) May, what with the Hurry of leaving the City and the indisposition of most of us, the Accounts for June are not done, but the next Cossid [*qāṣid*], which we intend to dispatch from Feredabad [Farīdābād] shall carry them.

Enclos'd we send your Honour & c^{a}. 3 Copys of the General Phirmaunds [*farmān*] as also 29 of the Sunnods [*sanads*].

With much ado we have got Gurzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] to carry the Chief of Surat's Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] for the Governour of Madrass the Gurzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] that goes with us has orders to carry it so will be dispatch from Bengall.

When we received our dispatches from the Vizier Azeem[2], he told us the Portuguese at Goa had been guilty of great many

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[1] Allahabad.

[2] *Wazīr-i-azim*, the great or chief Minister, that is Sayyad 'Abdullah Khan, Quṭbu-l-Mulk.

misbehaviours, but particularly in abusing the Mahometans, and making them Christians by Force, which his Majesty having very often Complaints of it, was not resolv'd to have satisfaction, he said the Forces would be order'd to besiege that Port, that he expected we would give them Assistance to punish the Kings Enemies. We modestly answered it was not in our Power, neither durst we break the Peace upon any occasion, that we cou'd not Assist upon any other Conditions, than being at War with Portugal in Europe, notwithstanding this answer he seem'd not satisfied, and then proposed the French to Zendy Caun[1], who it's now reported will be made Duan of the Decan and some other Ports, he answer'd that this affair, were it left to him, he was able to manage. This is all that past, or that we have yet heard of, but not knowing how it may be pursued, and how our Settlements of Bombay and the Coast of Mallabar may Stand, or what influence it may have on the Trade in General, we immediately gave this Notice to the Honourable Charles Boon Esqr. & c^{a}. Council in Bombay that they might not be Surpriz'd with the News by any different Way; so pre-armed against the forecoming Disturbance.

At this last Visit from the Visier we obtain'd a very kind recommendatory Letter to his Brother Omeerall Omrah [Amiru-l-Umara] concerning our Trade in General, the renting of Divy Island. The Delivery of the 5 Madrass Towns & c^{a}. as also enclos'd. Transcript of what orders he desir'd might be sent to Saddotoola Cawn [Sa'adatullah Khan] Concerning the 5 Towns and the Gov^{r}. of Metachlipatam [Machhlipatnam] for Divy, all very Plain and full, which we esteeming too precious to send by a Cossid [*qasid*] shall bring with us.

We are,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your Most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON'

Barra-Poola
[Bārahpulah]
July 19th, 1717.

[1] Zeyau-d-din Khān did become *dīwān* of the Dakhin or Deccan see *Ma'āsiru-l-umara*. III 37

BĀRAHPULAH TO FARĪDĀBĀD

207. DIARY.

"The Phirmaund [*farmān*] still with the Sudder to be close-sealed. Mr. Surman sent 100 rupees to Decanny-Ray [Dakhinī Rāe] to dispatch this Affair Speedily under hand among the under Officers."

July 20th.

"Mr. Surman wrote a note to Seerhaud [Sarhād] concerning the Honourable Presidents Phirmaund, [*farmān*] and sending out some Cozzys [*qāẓi's*] Copys & c^a^ butt to which he received no answer. We hear Suddanund [Sadanand] begins to be hard on Seerhaud [Sarhād], setting peons on his Door."

July 21st.

"Golam-Hossein [Ghulam Ḥusain] having his Dustick [*dastak*] ready came to Mr. Surman, there nothing now remains, butt for him to return and demand the phirmaund [*farmān*]. This project was concerted by Seerhauds [Sarhād's] own Peeschcar [*peshkār*] Decannyray, [Dakhinī Rāe] and carried on by one Somersein [Sumer Sen] formerly Bibbee Julianas Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddi*] the Latter having the desire off a horse and Seerpaw [*sār-o-pā*] for his pains.

July 22nd.

M^r^. Surman, that the world might take no Exceptions, wrote Again to Seerhaud [Sarhad] to the following Effect, 'tho' with Little hopes of Success. "That having formerly wrote for Copys off the Last Phirmaund [*fārmān*] he had received neither them nor an answer. That now he wrote again and would have him consider what he was about, The Phirmaund [*farmān*] being the only thing waited for. Wherefore he must expect to answer any delay on that Account occasioning a daily Expence of 4 or 500 rupees; All Horsemen peons & c^a^ being taken in." To this Seerhaud [Sarhād] something harshly replyed. "That the phirmaund [*farmān*] was with Sudder [*Ṣadr*][1]. That had he the seal in this pockett you should nott waite a moment. As for the Daily Expence of Horseman & c^a^. Why did you take them in till the phirmaund [*farmān*] was in Your hand? So you must Account for itt. You having Curtailed my Account out of Spite

[1] The *Ṣadru-s-ṣadur*.

Am kept in Dilly, and must waite an answer from below; w by the Company will be putt to 20,000 rupees Expence b' going down alone".

"Mr. Surman wrote Mullookchund [Muluk Chanc hasten Decanny-Ray [Dakhinī Rāe] abou phirmaund [*farmān*]

July 23rd

"Mr Surman Sealed up the Surat-Seerpaw [*sar-*(and sent itt to Mittersein [Mitr. Sēn]; with which and 200 ru for Expences Furruck-beg Caun [Farrukh Khān][1] will proceed when his Dustick [*da* is ready. Mr Surman sent Mullookchund [Maluk Ch word he was resolved to move tomorrow.

July 24th

Mullookchund [Maluk Chand] wrote word this Eve "That Both He, Somersein, Decanny Ray, and Mitte [Sumer Sen, Dakhini Rae and Mitr Sēn] would be att Fered. [Farīdābād] to morrow. That the Phirmaund [*farmān*] sealed and Carried from the Sudders [*ṣadar's*] to Ecklaus ([Ikhlas Khān], and that Golam Hossein [Ghulam Ḥussain] shown Ecklaus Caun [Ikhlas Khān] his Dustick [*dastak*], promised to deliver him the phirmaund [*farmān*] tomo morning. So we hope all trouble is over, and that need b Longer apprehensive of any thing from Seerhaud [Sarhād]

"Arrived from Barrapeola [Bārahpulah Feredabad [Farīdābād].

July 25th.

The Gentues arrived from the City. That Cannot whether the Goorzeburder [*gurzbardār*] has actually gott po sion off the Phirmaund [*farmān*].

208. CONSULTATION.

"According to the Honourable Presidence and Cour orders to constitute a Vakile [*vakil*] before our departure h we have pitched on Mittersein [Mitr Sēn the most proper person within our knowle We have Agreed with him for 75 rupees Month Wages besides a monthly allowance of 25 rupees Dur

Feredabad [Farīdābād] July 25th

[1] Farrukh Beg Khān was the imperial mace-bearer.

Expence. His Instructions being drawn up and Approved, Agreed that a translate be annexed to this Consultation. Agreed that Mr. John Surman pay 600 rupees to Murlidur Bawsein-Decannyrays [Muralidhar Bhāo Sen Dakhinī Rāe] Factory, with orders to pay Mittersein [Mitr Sēn] 100 rupees per Month till farther orders from the Honourable president and Councill.

Agreed that a protest be drawn up and sent to Seerhaud [Sarhād] for his disobedience in remaining behind; and that the translate be annexed hereto.

The Phirmaund [*farmān*] being so far secured that the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] may probably receive itt in a few days; We are satisfyed nothing ought to Detain us here any longer. Agreed that we make the best off our way down to our Honourable Employers "

209. Protest against Seerhaud

SENT TO HIM IN A NOTE FROM FEREDABAD.

Your Letter arrived in Barrapoola [Bārapulah], Whatever occurr'd you wrote; off the properiety you may Judge We hear from others that the phirmaund [*farmān*] is seal'd and return'd to Ecklaus Caun [Ikhlās Khān]. The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] has gott an order to receive the phirmaund [*farmān*] and Accompany us Itt is certain he will act accordingly. We would have you consider this, because we are going hence with all Expedition. You do nott swerve in the Least from our former behaviour. However, this Last Affair has nott been weigh'd Sufficiently, The Letting us depart, and staying behind your self, being unanswerable. Wherefore we now write, that you have no farther occasion for the State of Flaggs in your procession, pray from this time Lay them Aside; and whatever Allowance you received from the Honourable Company is Stop'd this instant. According to Your advice so much money was given to Kirperam [Kirpārām] without any advantage. We understand the answer you will give to this: Butt which is unwarrantable. If that Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] servant had come or Mr. Surman 700 rupees should have been paid. We expect a

recommendation from Kirperam [Kirpārām] to Hyder Cooly Caun [Ḥaidar Qulī Khān] to arrive with us in Agra that so much money may nott be flung away.

July 25th 1717. An Authentick Translation
HUGH BARKER Sec[ry]."

210. INSTRUCTIONS TO MITTERSEIN, THE HONOURABLE COMPANYS VAKILE ATT THE MOGULLS COURT.

Mittersein [Mitr Sēn] is appointed the Honourable Companys Vakile [*vakil*] at the Kings Durbar [*darbār*], His Wages being 75 rupees per Month, besides 25 rupees for Durbar [*darbār*] and other Expences. For this reason 600 rupees have been Lodged in the hand of Décanny-Ray Shroph [Dakhinī Rāe *Ṣarrāf*], that he may receive a monthly allowance of 100 rupees. On the Expiration of 6 Months he is to write to the Honourable English President in Bengall, who will Supply him farther, and That he make no demand on any other settlements for his wages or other Accounts.

That he does nott divulge his being the Honourable Companys Vakile [*vakil*], his business being to transmitt the Durbar [*darbār*] news Iff itt should happen (which God forbid) that our Factorys are brought into any trouble, He is Secretly to give advice. Butt he must take care nott to be Expensive; seeing, without the order off the Chiefs such disbursement will nott be allowed. That he obey the writings and orders derived to him From the Honourable Robert Hedges President of Bengall, The Honourable Charles Boone Att Bombay, and the Honourable Collett att Madrass, being no ways dilatory. That he likewise obey all Letters on the Honourable Companys Account, from the Smaller settlements; Such as Patna, Cossimbuzar, Cannore, Vizagapatam, &c[a]. That twice Every month he transmitt the Durbar [*darbār*] news with the Wackas [*wāqā'yas*] to Bengall, delivering his letters to Muralidur Bawseen Decanny Rays [Murlidhar Bhāo Sen Dakhinī Rāe] Factory, and his Letters for Bombay to Kissendass Bullinaut [Krishnadās Bali Nāth] shrops [*ṣarrāfs*] in Dilly. Iff itt should so happen that urgent

business requires, and nott otherwise; he is to send his Letters on the Dawk [*dāk*] the, Expence off which shall be allowed him.

That he Comport himself with honesty, by which meanes he may continue his post, and the Companys business goe on Currently. Such behaviour will by Gods grace meritt from the Honourable Company. For the rest itt is Committed to the protection Off the Almighty.

In this be very Careful. Authentick.

July 25th, 1717. HUGH BARKER, *Secry*.

211. DIARY.

July 26th

"Arrived a note from Seerhaud [Sarhād] with the following Account "That Going to the Persian Embassadours Tents without the City Some of the Embassadours people (believed by the Masters orders) Accosted him with Swords and Lattys [*lāthis*]; breaking his pallankeen to pieces. Seerhaud [Sarhād] being soundly bruised, and wounded in the Forehead and hand, returned to the City. In this Malancholly mood he Asks Mr. Surmans advic, desiring the Doctor may be sent to cure him. Mr. Surman only reply'd "That had he kept with us, this had nott happened. As for sending the Doctor, itt could nott be, seeing we should proceed tomorrow."

212. LETTER XXXVIII[1].

"To the Honourable ROBERT HEDGES ESQ. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &ca. Councill in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

We wrote Your Honour &ca from Barrapoola [Bārapulah], dated the 19th Inst. Copy of which comes inclosed. By the good Understanding that we have had with the Mutsuddys

[1] This Letter is found in the 'Copy Book of Letters' received from Mr. Surman.

[*mutasaddis*] and those who have had the Chief Management in the business, we have got the last Seal put upon the Phirmaund [*farmān*] which is returned to Ecklass Cawn [Ikhlāṣ Khān] without so much as Seerhauds [Sarhād] knowing we had any thing to do in the matter. The Goorzeburdars Dustick [*gurzbardār's dastak*] is likewise done and he has produced it before Ecklass Cawn [Ikhlas Khān] We suppose e're this he has received the Phirmaund [*farmān*] or will receive it, for which reason we are now making the best of our Way beleiving the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardārs*] will soon overtake us. Seerhaud [Sarhād] Continues obstinate remaining in the City altho we have wrote to him Severall Times, so has received none of the money we offerd him.

We have drawn the following Bills of Exchange 1156. 8 Siccas, payable to Mr. Ht. Frankland received from Mr. Surman.

3000 Ditto payable to Barnarseat [Varānasi Seth] received from Mr. E. Stephenson both which we hope your Honour &ca will duely Honour.

Enclosed Comes Cash and Warehouse Accounts, Charges Generall, and Copy (of) Consultations for the Month of June.

We have just now received a Note from Seerhaud [Sarhād], he advises that going to The Persian Embassadour he was abus'd to such a Degree as not only to be Severely Lattyed[1] but also wounded, we know no fa[r] ther of it than that He had no business to be from Us.

Feredabad [Farīdābād]
July the 26th
1717.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

213. DIARY.

July 27th. "Arrived at Pulvull [Palwal]. A Dutch soldier who came to us from Meer-Jemlahs [Mīr Jumlah's] Camp, now run back to the City.

[1] Beaten with a *lathi* or stick.

Sent Sunger Caun the Tonnadar[1] two Letters from Caundora [Khān Daurān] and Sallabutt Caun [Ṣalabat Khān] Account a safe conduct."

"Arrived at Horall [Hoḍal][2]. Mittersein [Mitr Sēn] writes word that the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] has the phirmaund [*farmān*] in the possession and will proceed when his Dustick [*dastak*] for the mewrah[3] is ready. He says, Seerhaud [Sarhād] is so Absurd as to think of getting forces from the Vizier to fight the Embassadour."

July 28th.

214. LETTER XXXIX.

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. Governor of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies &c[a]. Council In Fort William.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

Not meeting with the Cossids [*qāṣids*] We expected we were forc'd to detain the Packquet till we meet with them. We have got a Pair but cant be assured of their Goddness being in a Strange Country, but however we dispatch'd them with the News of our Safety 36 Cos [*kos*] from Dilly, and that we hear the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] has receiv'd the Phirmaund [*farmān*], and will be after us in a few days.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your Most Obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Horull.
[Hoḍal]
July the 28th
1717.

[1] Sanjar Khān, the *thānahdār*, was an officer posted at Palwal to keep the road clear as far as Hoḍal He was a Dāūdzai Afgan, and held a *mansab* of 5000 He died at Delhi early in Jamādī II, 1136 H, or February 1724.

[2] Hoḍal is a small town fifty five miles and seven furlongs from Delhi, eleven miles and four furlongs from 'Bhāmanikera, and fourteen miles and two furlongs from Chhāth.

[3] Mewrāh [meūrah] was the name of the post runners at the post stations. See (Blockmann's) *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I p. 252; and *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, lithographed edition, Vol. II. p. 117.

215. DIARY.

July 29th. "Arrived att Chatah[1] [Chhāth]".

July 30th. "Arrived att Mutrah [Mathura][2]. Itt is thought advisable to pass the river here; Seeing the War with the Jats [Jāts] has rendered the other way dangerous.

The phowsdar [*faujdār*] here paid Mr. Surman a visitt.

Momud Arruff Chilah [Muhammad 'Ārif *chela*] arrived in 3 days from Dilly.

July 31st. Passed the river with our whole camp. All the Gentues gone to worship att Binderabund [Bindrāban] a holy place."

August 1st. "Arrived at Barowly [Barolī][3].

Repassed the River Jemna [Jamnah] and arrived att Secunderah [Sikandrah].[4]

Arrived a Cossid [*qāṣid*] from Dilly. Sallabut Caun [Salabat Khān] writes that Golam Hossain [Ghulām Ḥusain] had the phirmaund [*farmān*] and would follow us, Furruckbeg Caun [Farrukh Beg Khān] making the best of his way to Suratt. Seerhaud [Sarhād] complained in a petition to his Majesty against the Persian Embassadour. His project of fighting him is now laid aside."

August 3rd "Arrived att Agra, and again Ferryed over the Jemna [Jamnah.] The Camp is now at Vizier Cauns Cutterah[5].

216. CONSULTATION

"Wanting a Supply for travelling Expences, and the following Summs being paid into Cash, Agreed that bills of Exchange

[1] Chhāth is fourteen miles and two furlongs from Hodal, and twenty-three miles and one furlong N W of Mathura in the *tashil* of the same name
Lat 27° 43'N, Long 77° 32' 50"E It is a good sized place with plentiful supplies and water, the country level open and fairly cultivated At the distance of a quarter of a mile there is a large *sarae* capable of holding two hundred men.

[2] This, is, of course, the well-known city, commonly spelt Muttra.

[3] Barolī is sixteen miles from Mathura or Muttra

[4] Sikandrah Bihishtābād, near Agra, the site of Akbar's tomb. Situated in lat 27° 12' 59" N, and long 77° 59' 34" E

[5] Wazir Khān *ka katrah* This enclosure was on the opposite or left bank of the Jamnah about a mile north of the modern railway bridge

Agra. August 3rd. be given on the Honourable President and Councill in Bengall Vizt.

1000 Siccas—Recd. from Mr. John Surman—payable to Mr. James Williamson,

3000 do —„ „ Kissoray Kissenchand [Kishori Kṛishan Chand] to Saw Biparry [*sāhu beopārī*].

H. Barker wanting money for expences, Agreed that Mr. Surman pay him 2000 rupees."

217. DIARY.

"Dispatched the following Cossids [*qāṣids*]. One to Bombay with triplicate of the Last Letter, and a private letter to Mr. Boone concerning Seerhaud [Sarhād]. One to Fort William and another to Fort St. George."

August 4th.

218. LETTER XL[1].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. Governor of Fort William President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &c[a] Councill in Bengal.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

Our last to your Honour &c.[a] was from Horull [Hoḍal], we have met with no molestation in the way After passing the river twice to avoid it we are happily arrived at Agra and passed it once more. As yet but little rains and hereabouts the Earth is parched, though we hear very much of the Swamps that are about 60 Cos: distance, We shall endeavour by little and little to break through them notwithstanding it may not be so expeditious as we desire. We hear Nothing Farther from Seerhaud [Sarhād], but that he has wrote his Complaint to your Honour &c[a]. which he desings to follow with Bills. The Business about his Usage from the Persian Embassadour was as formerly advised. Nothing would serve him at first but he would goe and fight

[1] This letter is entered in the "Copy Book of Letters received from Mr Surman & ca at the Moghulls Court," preserved at the India Office.

him, and sent for Horse and Foot to take in accordingly, but we suppose the Fury of that Expedition went away upon Second Consideration.

The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] has actually received the Phirmaund [*farmān*] but stayd for his Dawk Dustick [*dāk dastak*], so is not yet arrived though We expect him every day. We have a Chilah [*chelā*] at present with us with the Kings Orders for our Protection but we find very Little to be depended on, our own Forces Excepted which we hope will be sufficient for the Mewallaes [Mewātīs] and afterwards for the Eugenes [Ujjainyas][2].

To Express the Violence of the Heat it is almost impossible but that Men Horse and Camells in these few days Journey have lost their Lives by it.

We have drawn two Bills on Your Honour &c.[a] of Yesterdays date.

1000 Siccas received from Mr. Surman payable to Mr. Williamson and 3000 Siccas received from Kisoray Kissenchund [Kishori Kṛishan Chand] payable to Sawbiparry [*sāhu beopāri*] or order, which we hope will be duely honoured.

We are
Honour Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble serve
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON.

Agra
August 4th
1717.

P S.

Suposeing these Letters may Arrive in the Time That the Ships bound for Madrass may be on their departure, we have wrote a few Lines to the Honble President and Councill of Madrass having finished the Nogotiation to take our Leave of that Presidency. It comes under a flying Seal for Your Honour &cas. Perusall.

Idem,
JOHN SURMAN
E. STEPHENSON."

[2] The Ujjainyas are the Bhojpur Zamindārs between the Karamnasa and the Son rivers.

219. LETTER XLI.[1]

"To the Honourable—Collet Esqr. Governour of Fort St George and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &ca Councill In Madrass.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

The Honourable President and Councill in Bengall advises us they gave your Honour &ca a full Account of our Negotiation here, we had little Opportunity of makeing any Additions having been so full to that Presidency. Without doubt Your Honour &c.a rejoyced at the good news of Our having finished the difficult negotiation by the receivall of the Phirmaunds, Sunods [*farmāns, sanands*] &ca the Copys of which have to be Sure e'er this reached Your hands. After so great an Expence we hope all our Honourable Masters' Settlements will begin to reap the Advantage and that a few years will reimburse them. Besides the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] and Grants &ca for the Coast of Coromondall we have got a very Pathetick recommendatory Letter from the Grand Vizier to his brother one Omeerall Omrah [*amiru-l-umarā*] which will be of very good Use, being in Particular for the 5 Towns and the renting Divy [Divī] Island in Generall for all their Settlements on that Coast.

His Majesty has ordered a Seerpaw [*sar-o-pa*] for the Honourable Governour which we have received, and the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] that attends us down to Bengal has orders to proceed and deliver it.

After having finished our business we mett with great Trouble and difficulty in getting Clear of the Court, But God be thanked we have Effected it and our Departure was the 18th Ultimo, so we are Endeavouring for Bengall with the utmost Expedition altho' in the midst of the rainy Season. Our Com panion Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] thought fitt to Stay behind us in truth to effect some business of his own, but to deceive the World he pretended we would not pay him what money he knew we could not answer to do.

[1] This Letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters of Mr. Surman &ca." as before

Being now able to lay down our Commission we think this a fitt Opportunity to take our leave of Your Honour &c[a]. we hope our behaviour through the Course of this Negotiation will meet with Your Honour &c[as] Approbation when we shall have received our Reward. We return thanks for your Favours in particular,

and Are

Agra. August 4th, 1717

Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN.
EDWARD STEPHENSON".

220. DIARY.

August 5th 'Arrived att Raja K'-Talaw [Rājah-ka-talao][1]. The Mewattys [Mewātis] in this Journey Attacked Our peeshcanna, [*peskhhāna*] butt receiving Severall wounds from the Defendants, They ran away. The Convoy ordered in Our Dusticks [*dastaks*], has been off no manner off use, Sometimes Accompanying us, and Sometimes nott appearing."

August 6th "This day made demurrage Account Rain."

August 7th "Arrived at Shuckowabad [Shukohābad][2] Severall Camells ffell and one quite Spoiled.

August 8th. "Arrived att Murlidur [Murlidhar-ki-sarāe][3]. A Thief taken, and very much whipped."

August 9th "Arrived att Coorsina [Kursenah]"[4].

August 10th "Arrived att Etaya [Itāwah]"[5].

August 11th "Arrived att Buckewar [Bākewar]"[6].

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[1] Rājah-ka-talao is 10¾ miles from Itmādpur and more than 23 miles from Agra on the road to Itāwah

[2] Shukohābād, the chief town of a parganna of the same name, is 25½ miles from Itmādpur and 30 miles from Itāwah Situated in lat 27° 6′5″N. and long 78° 38′10″E It has abundant supplies and a good camping ground, Named after Prince Dāra Shukoh, traces of whose residence, garden, and wells remain

[3] See note on page 50

[4] Kursenah is 12 miles from Itāwah and 2 miles beyond Jaswantnagar.

[5] Itāwah the chief town of the district of the same name Situated in latitude 26° 45′31″ N, and longitude 79°3′18″E

[6] This Bakewar is a village, in the Bharthna *tahsīl*, 12 miles from Itāwah. A place of considerable antiquity, on high ground with good supplies and plentiful water

August 12th. "Arrived att Nahal k'Surray [Nihāl-ki-Sarae]"[1] The weather very bad.

Golam Hossain [Ghulām Husain] arrived in 8½ days from Dilly [Delhi] with the Honourable Robert Hedge's phirmaund [*farmān*]. He was just too Nimble ffor Seerhaud [Sarhād], that had sent his Chubd. [*chobdār*] with a receipt ffor itt to the Gentue off the Secretarys office."

August 13th. "Arrived at Secunderah [Sikandra][2], where the phowsdar [*faujdār*] Sent Mr Surman some Victualls, and appeared very Civill and Complaisant."

August 14th. "Arrived at Boguny [Bhognipur][3]. The Secunderah Phowsdar [Sikandra *faujdār*] conducted us to the End of his Districts; Sending Elephant, Flaggs and Horse men."

August 15th. "Arrived att Saunka [Sānkhā Janwārā]"[4].

August 16th. "Arrived att Coora-Jehaunabad [Korah Jahānābād][5].

August 18th. "Arrived att Cudjowah [Kajwah][6].

Dispatched a Cossid [*qāṣid*] to Fort William. Gave Likewise a small Letter with the Bills drawn Yesterday.

A General Letter arrived ffrom Bombay. Wrote to Sallabut Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] and Mittersein [Mitr Sēn]."

221. LETTER XLII[7].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable

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[1] See Note on page 50

[2] See Note on page 50 The Cawnpore road joints the road from Allahabad here

[3] See Note on page 49

[4] Sānkhā Jānwārā, a village 10 miles from Ghātampur on the Mogul road between Musanagar and Ghātampur It is shown in Rennell's Bengal Atlas, No 13, Tavernier calls it Sanqual Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 69 has "Shookhapur" in about the same position

[5] See note on page 49

[6] Kajwah, a town in the Korah *tahsil*, 12¾ miles of Jahānābād, and 21¾ miles miles from Fattehpur. Lat 26°8'10"N., long 80°33'50"E The town retains some architectural remains of ancient grandeur" It was once a place of commercial importance, and is still known for its brass and copper ware.

[7] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters of Mr. Surman. &ca" as before.

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &c[a]. Councill, in Bengall.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We deliver this Letter for Your Honour &c[a]. to Gololchund's [Gulālchand's] Factory to carry the news of our Arrivall at this City, but Chiefly designed to Accompany the bills of Exchange we have drawn on Your Honour &c[a] payable to Sawbiparry [Sāhu Beopārī] or Order 51 days After Date. Viz.

For 2000 Siccas value received from Ruggonautdass Jaggernaud and Colnine [Raghūnāth, Jagadanand, and Kawal Nain] Factors to Kissoray Kissenchund [Kishori Kṛishnan Chand].

For 1000 Siccas value received from Ruggonautdas Jaggernaud and Colnine [Raghūnāth, Jagadanand, and Kawal Nain].

We have also drawn 2 Bills more, Viz[t].

For 1630 Siccas payable to M[r] James Williamson Value received from Mr. John Surman.

For 900 ditto payable to Uddoodut [Udū Dat] the Father for Sockdue [Sukh Deo] Value received from Kissengiben [Krishanjivan].

For Other news we referr Your Honour &c[a] to our own Cossid [*qāsid*] which we shall dispatch as soon as we are got over the river of this City

Coora Jehaunabad. [Korah Jahānābād]] August 17th, 1717.

And are, Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN.
EDWARD STEPHENSON"

JOHN BARKER, *Sec[ry]*

222. LETTER XLIII[1].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq[r] Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable

[1] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters from Mr Surman & ca" as before

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies &c^a^ Councill In Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote Your Honour &c^a^. Yesterday from Coora Jehaunabad [Kōrah Jahānābād] of which the accompanying is a Copy. With some Trouble We gott over that River by 12a Clock at Night so we have been able to make a Journey of 5 Cos: [*kos*] to this Place.

Before we removed to Agra we wrote Your Honour &c^a^ bearing date the 4th Inst. advising of all that happened to that place, the following Part of our Journey has not been troubled so much with the heat, as by deep and Slippery ways, occasioned by the foregoing Rains, In which the Camells make miserable work, there being 2 or 3 already left thereby. Besides which our Journeys are much Shorten'd from 12 Cos [*kōs*] which We designed to 6 or 7 when the Weather will permit us to march. Even as it is, Travelling at this Season Surprizes the Country People, and We are of Opinion that very good Fortune has attended us. The Roads we passed Last are chiefly those frequented by the Mewattaes [Mewātīs]. The 1st. days Journey from Agra they took a Fancy to try the Courage of our People, by attacking our forerunning Tents guarded by 20 or 30 Buxeries [Baksarīs]. They had much about the like Number in Horse. They fell too without much Ceremony and fought for about two Gurreys, [*gharī*][1] and 'tis supposed that their Chief having received a mortal Wound in his Breast was the Reason they Run away without any Other Damage then the Wounding a Woman and 3 or 4 Oxen. They have been so kind as to keep out of Sight ever Since.

The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] who had orders to bring the Honourable Presidents Phirmaund [*farmāns*] has very well answered our Expectation and arrived with us 7 days ago so that there is now nothing belonging to our Honourable Masters Affairs left unfinished at that Court, and nothing in Seerhauds [Sarhād's] Hands but Copys which he obtained after a Clandestine manner As he would have Served that last Originall, but

[1] A *gharī* is a division of time equal to about 22 minutes.

the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] who was thoro' paced was not to be tricked at that rate.

The Encouragement we have had thus far in our Journey gives us Hopes of the like good Fortune for the Future, so we shall use all Possible Expedition to clear our Honourable Masters from the great Expence they have lain under.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient humble Servant
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON"

Cudjowah, [Kajwah]
August 18th
1717.

223. DIARY.

August 19th "Arrived att Futtipore [Fathpur]"[1].

August 20th. "Made a days demurrage, the carriages nott arriving yesterday in time."

August 21st "Arrived att Nobusta Mohun [Sarāe Mohan Salīmpur]"[2].

August 22nd "Arrived att Chouah K'-Surray [Chaube-ki-sarāe][3]. Mr. Surman gave the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] 100 rupees."

August 23rd. "Arrived beyond Shahzadpore [Shazādpur][4]. Mr. Surman sent the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] before to Illaabad [Allahabad], with the Severall Husbullhocums [*hasbu-l-ḥukums*] on Raja Chivilaram [Chhabelah Rām] Account Convoy Boates &ca "

August 24th. "Arrived att Allumchand k' Surray [Alam chandki-Sarāe][5]. Much rain ffell in the Journey "

August 25th "Arrived att Begum Surray"[6].

August 26th "Arrived In Illabaad. The Suba [*Ṣūbadār*] pursuant to the orders sent him, Ordered a man to meett us with 150 Horsemen Flaggs and Elephant.

[1] Fattehpur or Fatḥpur is the chief town of the Fattehpur district, 72 miles from Allahabad, 21 miles and 3 furlongs from Kajwah. Lat 25°55'18"N.; long 80°52"E A well known place of considerable antiquity

[2] See note on page 48 [3] See note on page 48 [4] See note on page 48

[5] Alam Chand a village 18 miles from Allahabad

[6] Sarāe Begam is 8 miles from the junction of the Ganges and the Jamnah.

Arrived a Cossid [*qāṣid*] from the Honourable President and Council in Fort William.

The Subah [*Ṣūbadār*] sent to compliment Mr. Surman on his arrivall, and (Altho a Gentue) sent a treat of 44 dishes of victualls dressed after the Mahometan ffashion. He would have Seen Mr. Surman Butt such Visitt was Evaded."

August 27th

"The Subah [*Ṣubādār*] repeated his Entertainment, notwithstanding Mr. Surmans Endeavour to Excuse itt."

224. Consultation.

"There being nothing to clear the Great Obligation we Lye under to the Subah [*Ṣubahdār*]; Yett to Endeavour itt by the properest Method; Agreed that 11 Yards Imbost Broad Cloth, 2 Musketoons, I gun and 2 Pistolls be carried and presented to his Son-in-Law, with a hearty acknowledgement of the ffavours we have received."

Illaabad (Allahabad) August 27th.

225. diary.

August 27th.

"The Carravanfferrying over the Ganges. Dispatched a Cossid [*qāṣid*] to Fort William."

226. Letter XLIV[1].

"To The Honourable Roblrt Hedges Esqr. Governour of Fort William President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies &ca. Councill in Bengall.

Honourable Sir and Sirs.

We wrote your Honour &ca from Coora Jehaunabad [Kōrah Jahānābād] August the 1st, and Cudjowah [Kajwah] August the 18th Advising of our Safe arrivall there and our

[1] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters from Mr Surman &ca." as before

Receipt of the Phirmaund [*farmān*] from the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] &ca. Thro' deep ways and with much trouble we Arrived Safe to this Place Yesterday. The Subah Rajah Chevilin [*Ṣubahdār* Rājah Chhabīlah Rām] gave us a handsome Reception by Sending some Captains of Horse & Fort Elephant Flaggs Drums &ca to meet us, and at night sent an Entertainment of Victualls sufficient for half our Camp. Our Baggage is moved over the River Ganges where we intend, God willing, to follow tomorrow and hope to be in readiness to march the next Day. We have strange Accounts of the Deep Ways between this Place and Patna, however we shall endeavour to Surmount All Difficultys with what Expedition possible, and hope by the time this reaches the Hands of your Honour &ca we may be arrived in Patna We hope our Letters from Agra and Coora [Kōrah] have So well Apprized you of our Proceedure that Boats will be sent up in good Time.'

Yesterday came to hand your Honour &cas dated July the 26th by which we are glad to find all our Letters Copys of the Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] &ca papers arrived in due time.

We particularly observe what your Honour &ca. write how we are to act on our Arrivall at Patna but cannot omit advising your Honour &ca that most of the Honourable Companys Debts there have been for some Years Esteemed desperate, so we Cannot hope to gain an Equivalent for the Certain Expence we must be at in Staying to obtain them. The time we are there our utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting. As for the House we hope to get Possession of it without much difficulty, and likewise shall let the Subah [*Ṣubahdār*] and Duan [*diwān*] known on what Terms Your Honour &ca. may resetle that Factory It is Certain Seerbolund Cawn [Sarbuland Khān] has imposed the Yearly Peeshcash [*peshkash*] on the Dutch besides a much larger on a different Account

In our Former Letters we gave your Honour &ca. a full Account of Seerhauds [Sarhād's] remaining in Dilly [Delhi]. We have no news since our last. When we found he Actually remained behind we sent him a Protest from Barrapoolah [Bārahpulah] and Feredabad [Farīdābād] that since He had deserted us his Expences from that time would not be allowed him and that it was proper he should lav down his state of

Flaggs &ca. Since there was no farther Occasion for them. He was not backward in giving us a retorting Answer that we must be answerable for all his Expences since we did not Comply with his demands.

We have a due Sence of the great Expence our Honourable Masters have been at and shall endeavour to bring it to an End as soon as possible. We have our Travelling at such Time of the Year will be a plain Instance of our Intentions.

When this month is finished we shall be obliged to pay our people so have been necessitated to draw a Bill of Exchange for 3000 Siccas received from Kissoray Kissenchund's [Kishori Kṛishan Chand's] Factors here and payable to Sawbiparry [*sāhūbeopārī*] or Order which we hope will be duely honoured.

We Congratulate your Honour &ca. on the Arrivall of the Europe Ships.

And are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS.
Your Most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN.
EDWARD STEPHENSON".

Elaabass [Allahabad]
August, 27th
1717.

227. DIARY.

August 28th	"When Every thing was over, Mr. Surman &ca. passed to the Other side of the Ganges."
August 29th	"Arrived att Sydabad [Saidābād][1].
August 30th	"Arrived att Jugdisk'-Surray [Jagdīs-ki-sarāe]"[2].
August 31st.	"The Carriages &ca. nott arriving in time, made a days demurrage."
September 1st	"Arrived at Oumull [Almau][3]. Arrived a Cossid [*qāṣid*] from Calcutta. Sundry Burkundass turned out for Mutiny "
September 2nd.	"Arrived att Babook' Surray [Bābū-ki-Sarae]"[4].

[1] See note on page 44.
[2] See note on page 45
[3] Almau (in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88 Ulmow) is a village about 7 miles from Jagdīs-ki-sarāe, in *tahsil* Konrh.
[4] See note on page 45.

September 3rd "Arrived att Mohun k' Surray [Mohan-ki-sarāe][1].

Killed a Thief who came into Our Camp."

September 4th "Arrived in Banarass [Benares]. Wrote a Generall to Fort William. Mr. Surman wrote concerning Jaffor Caun [Ja'far Khān] both to Sallabutt Caun [Ṣalābat Khān] and Mittersein [Mitr Sēn]".

September 5th "Mr. Surman &ca. passed the Ganges."

228. LETTER XLV[2].

"To the HONOURABLE ROBERT ESQR. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies &ca Councill in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote You from Elaabass [Allahabad] August the 27th Since which we received yours, dated August the 2nd, on the 1st. of September with the inclosed Copy of a Letter from Mr. Feak &ca concerning the refusall that Jaffor Cawn [Ja'far Khān] had made of allowing the Muxodabad [Maqsūdābād] Mint and the Calcutta Towns the two Chief profitable things we have gained for our Honourable Masters in Bengall. There is no one Can be better acquainted with Jaffor Cawn [Ja'far Khān] than Your Honour &ca. So his disobeying the Kings Orders is no great Rariety. Pursuant to Your Honour &cas. Orders, we have wrote the the Vackeel [*vakīl*] at Court, advising him of it, that he may make his Complaint to his Majesty for this Breach of Orders, we have likewise wrote to the Same purport of Syud Sallabutt Cawn [Sayyad Salābat Khān] desiring he will Assist the Vackeel [*vakīl*] in the Prosecution of that Affair.

We have met with a very troublesome Road from Elaabass [Allahabad] hither, but however it is now over, and have now crossed the Bannarass [Banares][3] river intending to march

[1] See note on page 45

[2] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of letters from Mr Surman &ca" as before

[3] Probably the Ganges, not the Barna.

tomorrow. We hear the roads between this place and Patna are very deep, So cannot Affix the Time of our Arrivall there but shall make it as Expeditious as possible.

The Frequent Letters that we have wrote we hope arrived in due time so that the Boats are long since dispatched to receive us in Patna.

Bannarass [Benares] Sept: 5th 1717.

We are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
Your Most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

229. DIARY.

September 6th. "Arrived att Jugdisk' Surray [Jagdīs-ki-sarāe]"[1].

September 7th "Arrived beyond Currum-Nosser [Karamnāsā] in the Subaship of Behar."

September 8th "Arrived att Mohinia [Mohiniya]"[2].

September 9th. "Arrived att Jehaunabad [Jahānābād][3]. 1 Camell Died."

September 10th "Arrived att Sarsewrong [Sahsrām][4]. Sheer-Zemaun-Caun [Sher Zamān Khān] lying near us with Seer Bulund Cauns [Sarbuland Khān's] forces: The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] went to him, and Obtained some Convoy."

September 11th "Arrived att Mokrain [Mokraīn].[5] The Caravan begun to pass the river Soan [Son]. Much rain in the Afternoon. The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] dispatched to Patna with a Husbullhoocum [*husbu-l-hukm*] from Caundora [Khān Daurān] to Seer-Bulund-Caun, [Sarbuland

[1] This Jagdīs-ki-sarāe is a village on the Grand Trunk Road about 2 miles west of Chandauli, and 19 miles from Benares It is seven miles east of the Mogul Sarāe railway station There is a good encamping ground here and a small bazar.

[2] Mohiniya is 24½ miles from Jagdīs-ki-Sarāe and 13½ miles from Jahānābad. A small bazar with a good encamping ground

[3] Jahānābād is a village, 16 miles from Sahsrām.

[4] See note on page 43

[5] See note on page 43

Khān] in order to procure us convoy, and a Creditable reception into the City of Patna. Mr. Surman now wrote to theVakile [*vakil*] Roopechund [Rūpchand], inclosing the two perwannas [*parwānas*] for the Patna house. The Vakile [*vakil*] is to Endeavour, to have itt putt in Our possession, on the first Arrivall. Gave the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] a Turbett[1] and Sash."

"Mr Surman & ca passing the river, arrived at Gotowly [Ghatauli][2] Sheer-Zemaun Cauns [Sher Zamān Khān] convoy dispatched with a present of 50 rupees. Much rain. A Thief killed in the night."

September 12th

September 13th. "Made Demurrage Account the Bad-Weather."

September 14th "Made Demurrage, The bad weather continuing."

September 15th "Arrived thro' much rain and Dirt att Doudnagur [Dāūdnagar][3].

"Made Demurrage, the Peshcanna [*peshkhāna*] nott being arrived.

September 16th. The weather become fair."

September 17th "Arrived att Ullidad k' Surray [Alidad-ki-sarāe]" "Arrived att Mohabully-pore [Mohibalipur][4]

September 18th Received a Letter from Roopechund [Rūpchand]."

"Arrived att Nobat-pore [Naubatpur]. The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] returned from Seer-Bulund-Caun [Sarbuland Khān] with a Munsubdar [*manṣabdār*] off 1000 Munsb. [*manṣab*] butt nott one more Horseman, the Nabob pretending there was no occasion for them."

September 19th.

September 20th "Arrived att Pulwarry [Phulwārī]. The Dutch came from Patna to meett us."

"Arrived safely in Patna, and now live in the house, we did formerly, when this negotiation commenced. Advised the Honourable President and Councill of our arrivall"

September 21st.

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[1] Turbett evidently for turban.
[2] See note on page 42.
[3] See note on page 42.
[4] See note on page 42.

230. LETTER XLVI[1].

"To the HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES ESQR. Governor of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies & ca Councill in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Our last to Your Honour & ca was from Bannarass [Benares] of the 5th Instant. This Chiefly advises of our safe Arrivall here this morning. As yet we have received no Answer to our Letters wrote since our departure, from Dilly [Delhi] so Cannot be Assured of the Boats being dispatched this Way. We at present waite their Arrivall, and Your Honour & cas Orders shall be duly obeyed.

Gololchundsaw [Gulālchand Sāhā] is just come to us and Complains that on the Bills we wrote for 25000 siccas there has been discompt of 2 per cent as he is advised from Monickchundsaw [Manikchund Sāhā] to whom the bills were Sold; he desires Your Honour & ca to take a writing from his Factory there to Gololchundsaw's [Gulālchund Sāhā's] here, importing that they have received the Bill in full as it was drawn.

Patna
September 21st
1717.

We are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
Your Most obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON"

231. DIARY.

September 22nd.

"The Dutch made us a visitt. Roopechund [Rūpchand] Employed about the house given us by the King. The Bootade [*buyūtāt*] who manages all Such Affairs, Says he must first ask the Suba [*subādār*] Seer-Bulund-Cauņ [Sarbuland Khān] when he will give us a Sunnod [*sanad*]."

[1] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters from Mr. Surman &ca" as before.

September 23rd to 28th.

"Seer-Bulund-Cauns Memaundar [Sarbuland Khān's mihmāndār] presented to About 150 rupees."

"Mr. Surman & ca returned a visitt to the Dutch."

"The Bootade [buyūtāt] reported to our Vakile [vākīl] the Answer he had received from Seer-Bulund-Caun [Sarbuland Khān]. "Should I now give them the house, what have I left to say to them when they make me a visitt ?""

232. Consultation.

Patna September 30th.

"Ten days have been Elapsed since our arrival at this place, without any sign of Boates for our Conveyance down, Or Advices from the Honourable President and Councill about it. From all wihch we doe conceive that the Little danger off the way between this place and Culcutta, may have induced the Honourable President & ca nott to send up Boates; and consequently itt becomes Our Duty to make the provision our Selves. The miserable Government of this place gives no Encouragement to Attempt any thing here. Seer Bulund Cann [Sarbuland Khān] Expects a peshcash [peshkash] of 16,000 rupees, and is besides very pressing to receive a visitt, accompany'd with a handsome present. On these conditions a Factory might be resettled here, butt without any prosect off recovering the fformer Debts. The persons being all Either dead or insolvent. On due consideration we find our longer Stay will be both a fruitless Expence off time and money; Wherefore, Agreed that boates be hired; Leaving this place with the utmost Expedition."

233. Diary.

"The Goorzeburdar [gurzbardār] going to the Wackanagar [Wāqa'nigār], This Latter spoke to the Subah [Subahdār], for an order, for our hiring Boates, which was granted.

Discharged all Our Horsemen, most off Our Foot and other unnecessary Servants. These that remain to be paid according

to the Patna Custom. Sallary; Watchmaker, and Soldiers pay for 3 Months paid the last instant."

October 1st to 5th. "Nothing remarkable."

"We doe nott find any one inclined to Speak to Seer-Bulund-Caun [Sarbuland Khān] about the Patna house or Factory, Roopechund [Rūpchand] Even ffears to goe near that Durbar [*darbār*]."

October 6th.

"Wrote to the Honourable President & c[a] in Fort William. In the Evening received a Generall Letter from Bengall. Mittersein [Mitr Sēn] writes, he has heard Jaffor Caun [Ja'far Khān] has Complained to the King Against us, butt that nothing is Yett ordered in our disfavour."

October 7th

"Roopchund [Rūpchand] having been with the Bootade [*buyūtāt*], he was there told, that Seer-Bulund Caun [Sarbuland Khān] has ordered the house to be given us, on Conditions off a Factory being settled; butt that the King never designed, we should lett itt to hire"

October 8th

234. LETTER XLVII[1].

"To The Honourable Robert Hedges Esq[r]. Governor of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies & c[a]. Councill in Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote Your Honour & c[a] the 21[st] Ultimo advising of our Safe Arrivall at this Place, we have since that Time been obliged to draw Bills of the 28[th] September for the following Sums.

I Bill 5000 rupees payable to Saw Biparry [*sāhū beopāri*] or Order received from Bolchund [Balchand].

[1] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters from Mr. Surman &ca" as before

1 Bill 5000 rupees payable to Kissoray Gololchund [Kishori Gulālchand], received from Gowoldas Gossaulray [Gokal Das Khushḥāl Rāe] to both which we hope your Honour & c^{a} will give the Honour.

We were in hopes that the Frequent Advices we gave Your Honour & c^{a} of our departure from Dilly and in our way hither might have arrived time Enough to have Budgerows & c^{a} sent up for our Carriage down to Calcutta. We fear some of the Cossids [*qāṣid*] may have miscarry'd and so prevented it, We have waited in Expectation of a Letter, but not Coming to hand we have taken a Resolution to leave this Place with the Utmost Expedition by getting what Boats & c^{a} we can hire as the onley Expedient to finish this Expensive Journey. For any Business to be done here, in getting in the Company's Debts which your Honour & c^{a} formerly ordered we find nothing to be done with Seerbolund Cawn [Sarbulånd Khān] without Expence. If We should pay him a Visit, make a Present and move to settle a Factory here as he thinks fitt we believe the Possession of the House might be obtained but as Yet we can get no answer. Your Honour & c^{a} gave us particular Orders to acquaint the Subah [*subahdār*] and Duan [*dīwān*] on what Conditions a Factory might be resettled. The Duan [*dīwān*] and all other Officers have not the least authority under Seerbolund Cawn [Sarbuland Khān] who manages every thing himself and instead of the Cut-Barrers[1] which was formerly paid to the Prince, he has laid the same Imposition on all the Merchants here under another name called Budrucka[2]. From the Dutch he has taken instead of their former Peeshcash [*peshkash*] of 10,000 rupees 13,200 rupees After imprisoning their Servants 2 months and stopping their laden boats above one, Besides 50,000 rupees which he has Extorted from them within this Twelve month. We have endeavoured to let him know Your Honour. & c^{as} propositions. but as yet have not found a Servant or other in his whole Durbar [*darbār*] who dare represent the matter to him taking it as entirely impossible to be Effected, and our being necessitated to Stay here gives no little Umbrage that a design of Settling a Factory is at the botom,

[1] Possibly *khat-barār*, *i e*, "obtaining the issue of a letter," apparently a fee levied on the issue of an order.

[2] Probably badraqah, an escort, or convoy.

all which together will make us the more Expeditious to get away.

We have disposed of a good part of the Camells but we find Horses here at a very low rate so we shall send them over land with the Elephant for the Honourable President under the Care of the Goorzeburdar, [*gurzbardār*] we are quite unacquainted how Horses may sell at Muxodavad [Maqṣūdābād] so desire Your Honour & c[as]. Orders whether any may be left there or all sent to Hughly.

Patna
October 7th
1717.

We are
Honourable Sir and Sirs
Your most obecient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

235. CONSULTATION.

"THE 7[th] att night arrived a Letter from the Honourable President and Councill, Dated September 19[th] importing that a party off soldiers with Budgerows was coming for us; and that we should remain in Patna till their arrivall, getting in the mean time possession off the house, and recovering what debts due to the Honourable Company. The many fformer Letters from the Honourable President and Councill giving intimation, and our own desires Spurring us on, to come to a Conclusion of this Chargeable negotiation; we resolved to Leave this place with all possible Speed: to which end we have already laid out money for Boates, to carry us down; and entertained best part off the peons and Buxerys necessary for the occasion. Wherefore our readiness to leave this place will be in a Weeks time.

October 10th, Patna.

The Honourable Companys Debtors are either dead or insolvent. As for compulsion there is none to be used., without the Nabobs Assistance; which is so far from being Granted; That he does nott Comply with the Letter off the Kings orders in permitting us to have the house, Saying, "Itt was nott given us to be Lett out, butt that a Factory might be settled therein; on

which conditions we might have itt." Butt this must be understood on the payment off the former 16000 rupees peshcash [*peshkash*]; and nott what the Honourable President and Councill are in hopes of. So the design of settling that Factory is rendered Abortive. By what is abovemention'd, Our ffarther Stay in Patna plainly appears to be of no service to Our Honourable Masters affairs, butt will on the Contrary prove Expensive.

Two months must be Elapsed before the Culcutta Boates can possibly arrive att this place; Very likely meeting with some trouble in the way; which is nott to be feared in our passage down, Seeing we have the Kings Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*], Chilah [Chelā] and Dusticks [*dastaks*] to accompany us, besides the Character his Majesty has been pleased to give us in the Last. We conclude and Agree to depart hence with the Utmost Expedition, Conceiving itt most for the Interest of Our Honourable Masters.

The Patna Shrophs [*ṣarrāfs*] will write to their Correspondants nott to trust Seerhaud [Sarhād] with money Account the Honourable Company.

Agreed that a ffarther Account of Seerhauds [Sarhād's] Behaviour be given to the Honourable & c[a], being a Continuation of the Separate Letter, dated December 20[th] from Dilly."

236. DIARY.

"The Dutch report the following Advices from Dilly—That the King Upon the Grand Seigniours Complaint, has forbid the sale off Saltpetre to any Christians. That the Phowsdar [*faujdār*] off Metchliptam [Machhlipatanam] complained to the King off Divy [Divī] Islands being granted to the English

October 18th

1 Camell Lame Left with Gololchundsaws [Gulālchand Sahā's] Factors at Coora Jehaunabad [Korah Jahānābād] to be sold, and 5 Camells left with Ruggoe-ponditt [Raghū *paṇḍit*] in Futtua [Fatuha] for the same end."

"We heard Seer-Bulund-Caun [Sarbuland Khān] would send to search our Boates, butt it proved a story."

October 20th.

237. Letter XLVIII[1].

"To The Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. Governour of Fort William and President of Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies & ca . Councill In Bengall.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We wrote your Honour & ca the 20th December very particularly concerning the Behaviour of Cojah Seerhaud [Khwājah Sarhād] during the Course of this Negotiation to the Time. We find our Selves obliged to continue the Thread of that discourse to the finish of it which now God be thanked is happily come to pass.

We shall pursue it with our wonted Ingenuity and for to make every thing the more plain first add to those things which Seem to be left unfinished in the last, and then enlarge upon what farther Misdemeanours he has committed.

Concerning the Entrance into the business we find nothing to add. Butt the first remark we have to make is on Padree Deniell who after a great many Huffs and Threatnings of what he would do in Case we did not comply with his demands became very quite Seerhaud [Sarhād] used to tell us he had satisfyed that he had paid him about 800 rupees down in hand and had given him an Obligation that in Case he had not full Satisfaction from the Councill of Calcutta he would pay him out of his own Pockett the Sum of 3000 rupees, we seemed very well satisfyed with this and indeed told Cojah [Khwājah] it would be for his Honour not to suffer him to Complain in any Durbar [*Darbār*] of us altho' we could not Agree to his unreasonable demands and to hope to get any redress by Complain he knew was but a Folly which Advice I believe he took after he had tryed his own Strengh and found he was able to do nothing. The Padree suspecting Cojah [Khwājah] at our departure from Dilly seemed to have a desire to come along with us, and indeed did offer that in case we would promise our Endeavour to procure him satisfaction he would. Our Answer was that it was our Opinion he

[1] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters of Mr. Surman &ca" as before.

had much better follow Seerhauds [Sarhād's] Fortunes if he had any Intentions for Bengall, and that we think is all we can add to this Business.

When we were on our Departure and he squabbling with us for money amongst the rest (but not mentioned in his demand) he wanted truely us to pay for the Vackeel [*vakil*] that he had employed very barefacedly affirming he deserved a handsome reward. We were very well acquainted with the man who had been a good Spy to Us, but could not wrong our Judgments so much as to Consent to it when we had as good Servants in the House in the Honourable Companys pay, and we could at That Time tell him his own and how much in this particular Case he had broke through the Honourable President and Councills Orders. He answered that it was very well, since we would not he would do it himself, and as for anything Else he had very little Apprehensions.

We wrote Your Honour &c[a] at large about the new Kirperam [Kṛipārām] Our Agreement with him and what we thought of that business, since the writing of that Letter, we found ourselves strictly pursued for a large Sum of money nothing less than 1000 Gold Moors [*muhrs*] would appease. A great many reasoning And excuses were made use of but to little purpose Seerhaud [Sarhād] insisting either to give the whole sum or else a finall Answer refusing at any Consultation to give his Opinion of the matter, at the Same Time threatening what great mischeif would attend his disgust that So much money was In reality too much, But what Sum he deserved and would Content him he would not Name yet was Continually bringing Duns to our door as a proof how much he was plagued. For the Conclusion of this Affair we humbly referr to our Consultation July the 15[th] Our True Reason for Consenting to the Payment of so much money was the Apprehension we had that he might do some dis-service to the Factory at Suratt. The entire Government of that Province being under Hydera-Cooli Cawn [Ḥaider Qulī Khān] and his Business solely in the Hands of the Kirperam [Kripārām].

Concerning Seerhaud's [Sarhād's] proceeding to England and buying Rarietys we have wrote at large in that Letter. The true reason of his staying behind is to pursue this project

without any Apprehensions of being hindered by us. Zeaudy Cawn [Zeyāu-d-dīn Khān] at last has been the Chief Protector of this scheme and had at about the time of our departure proposed to his Majesty something of this Story Again and that a small matter might be sent as a Present to the Honourable English Company. He intimated to us that he wished we would Stay to receive it but we were too well acquainted with the Expence of Dilly and the Time Trouble and Charge there would be to get it after granted as well as the small Value the Things would be of, for any such Bait to take besides we Considered what little Credit was to be given to the best of them all. We since hear Seerhaud [Sarhād] in the Pursuit of the Old scheme has brought his Ends about. The [King ?] has granted as follows—

To the Honourable Company—

		rups.
3 Diamonds	..	3000
Boddala[1] &c^a^	..	3000
Shawles	..	2500
Baftaes and Mamodays	..	2500
Rose Otter 25 Polla	..	500
		11500

To Governour Pitt whom he Stiles Vizier Azzeem[2] of England

		rups.
3 Diamonds	..	2,000
Boddala	..	2,000
		4,000
		rups.

But refused to give him his so much desired Phirmaund [*farmān*] till such Time he arrived in Europe procured the Rarietys and advised of their readyness when he should have it Sent him, but for the present only a Husbullhookum [*ḥasbu-l-hukum*] is ordered. Seerhaud [Sarhād] is not contented with this, but has drawn up another Petition and has taken Care to make

[1] *Bādlah*, Cloth of gold.
[2] *Wazīr-i-'āẓim*

this appear quite different to his Bretheren in all Places that they may resound it to his Creditors but what we have lost above is the last advice from Mittersein [Mitr Sēn].

In our Former Letter amidst such a Tract of Villainies, we Could not Accuse him of misemploying any of the Companys Money or Goods, but we have found by the Sequell it was only for want of an Opportunity. For in the first Sum of money which was designed for Boquechund [Bhogchand] out of 18000 rupees he had a design to steal 10,000 rupees. The necessity there was for the Agreement our Consultations will witness Knowing what great Service that Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*] could Do us at that Inst. We did not hesitate in the Least to Comply with Seerhaud's [Sarhād's] demands when he said it was necessary and Indeed 8000 rupees was reckoned a very small Summ for so great a Man. So Seerhaud [Sarhād] had here a good Opportunity to do as his inclinations directed him but it was impossible for him to do it So privately but that it Came to our Knowledge before he could have the Impudence to ask for the money or indeed that we would give it, he was apprized of our Knowledge of the matter. We were well pleased to find It hindered him from his pursuit, so in a sort of a bravado of what he had done for the Honourable Company in saving them so much money (which was never lost) he delivered back the obligation and owned the other deceit of 5500 rupees with the Sudder Suddool [*ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr*] which was of much worse consequence than the Other, for the Phirmaund [*farmān*] was detained about 20 days in a very Ticklish time which must be pure design of delaying for when we put him to it in an hour's Time 'twas made up when he bragg'd of his Dexterity in doing it and showed great satisfaction in having (as he thought) deceived us. We are satisfyed your Honour &c[a] will take this Story and everything else in its due Sense.

The strange delays very much hindered the business and so Enhanced un-accountably the Charge. It's impossible for us to give your Honour &c[a] a Relation of every two or three days that he has by his ill Humour and obstinacy flung away, when his Majesty was in the Camp and our business on the Tenters nothing could hinder him from his feasting and Junkett-

ing which two or three days Every Week were Sacrificed and once eight days together, and at that Time Enoitoola Cawn ['Ināyatyllah Khān] was upon the Point of being made Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] and the Phirmaund [*farmān*] had not received the Viziers Seal, Besides this the Calcutta Towns with Six other Perwanne [*pārwānas*] were refused to be signed by the Duan Colsa [*dīwān-i-khāliṣah*] and so very near sacrificed, being at last done clandestinely by Attesham Cawn [I 'tisām Khān] the Lord knows how and the money that was expended, had it been taken Care of before hand might have been Saved and they securely done with the rest, So he deserves to pay for his Obstinacy and all that Charge must be placed to his Account.

Nothing would serve for one while but that he would gett a Phirmaund [*farmān*] for Divy [Dīvi] Island, Patna and Suratt house, Bengall Mint and Fort St David Towns instead of the Duanny Sunnods [*dīwānī sanads*] which we had obtained He never went upon any such new invention, but we presently suspected he had some other design than the public good. We consented so far to it that in case it might not be prejudiciall to the main Affair otherwise not, we esteeming it a Thing noways feasible. This matter was carried on some time, and we heard no more of it till about two Months after when he was hot after it again even to the neglect of our great Affairs So he was forbid to pursue it any farther. He promised to obey; about twenty days afterwards he seemed ready to burst with the news saying he had got a Grant for the Phirmaund [*farmān*] We were very well pleased with the Thoughts of his having Once in his Life done good by breaking of orders, but alass when we Came to Examine into it nothing but Flash.

After this he Could not be contented but he must have 25 Villages more which were the 4000 rs. (?) we left out and to make it the more easily granted he would get them in the Honourable Robert Hedges Phirmaund [*farmān*] notwithstanding we told him to desist, for since there was no hopes of Obtaining them it was only exposing us. However he still privately pursued it till he was baffled and if ever he does procure the grant it Cannot be otherways than Clandestinely.

Every thing being finished we had pannick Fears concerning the Originall Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] and [*sunnods*]. He never

directly denied the delivery of them but by his put offs from today and tomorrow, still keeping Something undone under pretence of delivering the whole together made us suspect he had some ill design that way and there was no method to hinder them from Coming into his hands. We used a great many arts to get them from him. It pleased God that we had no Necessity to use rougher means for he delivered them all with this Insolent Saying. If he had a mind to plague the Company there were means enough and they could never escape his Hands. That more had been obtained for their Service than his Contract obliged, so he would have a Proportionable Reward or Else he might be troublesome to them.

In his last Demand for money Your Honour &c[a] will see he charges for Black Cases 2400 (rupees) besides Arrack and his Wine. The Black Cases he brought up from Calcutta and Cost there about 500 rupees, We questioned his Intention from the first of being very unreasonable in anything the Company might be obliged to buy of him so was always upon our Guard to hinder him and for all the many Pretences he made that nothing Else would go down with the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] we Knew it was only a trick to get them off, so by no means we would not Consent to it, but told him the Company would never pay him at so Extravagant a rate and advised him to dispose of them among his Bretheren where he pretended he could have 40 rupees per Case. Except what he drank he disposed of none for at least 15 months when (all) at once we heard they began to fly about to every one that wanted liquor and then required of us to pay for them at his own Rate.

Coming upon the Business of our dispatch from his Majesty, our Intentions being to proceed with the utmost Expedition whether we received those accustomary Favours or no and his being quite different was the reason we employed him as little as possible in that Affair, So he had only the Phirmaund [*farmān*] for the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq[r]. to get ready, which your Honour &c[a] will find by our Former Letters was so long delayed that he had an Intention either we should Stay for it or Else leave it behind, when we found and Evasion for that by getting an Order for the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] to receive it and when he had it in his possession, Seerhaud [Sarhād]

would have fain brought him to his Lure by fair promises, but we had prepared the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] who knew him very well that he did not betray his Trust but brought the Phirmaund [*farmān*] to us being very well assured of a good reward for this Service. In the Phirmaund [*farmān*] Seerhaud [Sarhād] took Care to have his name very particularly mentioned, as if all the Business had been done by his Management alone. 'Tis very likely had we went about it, it might have been hindered at the Expence of some time and money, besides exposing the Nakedness of our Family which we always Endeavoured to hide from the World, We wav'd the Prosecution leaving all to the Judgment of your Honour &c[a].

In a Private Consultation of the 13th April the Story of gaining 50,000 rupees to be divided among us is related at large, it wants no farther addition then that it came to nothing, as have a great many of his other Projects, wherefore it only serves in this Place as a Memorandum and to fill up the number of his misdemeanours.

In these our two Letters we have Endeavoured to point out this unaccountable Man's Actions. As we have not added any thing of our selves we hope we have not omitted any thing of Consequence. We heartily Recommend the Examination of it to Your Honour &ca. not doubting but every one will receive his reward according as he has merited. All our Ambition is to be Accounted.

Yours Honours &c[as].
Faithful and obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Patna
October 20[th],
1717.

238. DIARY.

October 21st "Left the City off Patna, and Arrived at Raypoora [Rāēpūrā][1].

The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] Elephant and Horses made the same Journey by Land; and will Continue to keep pace with us till our Approach near Rauge-Mahall [Rājmaḥal]".

[1] Rāēpūrā is in the Fatunā *thāna* of the Bārh Subdivision, 9 miles from Patna.

239. CONSULTATION.

October 22nd.
Ray-poora
[Rāe-pūrā]

"The Letter mentioned the 10th Inst. being wrote and approved, with the Following Additionall Heads Agreed that itt be dispatched —Viz.—

1st His requiring the Company to pay his Vakile [*vakīl*]
2nd Boguechund [Bhogchand] and the notes for 18,000 rs.
3rd His untimely ffeasting in the City.
4th His project to putt Divy [Dīvī] &ca in the Phirmaund [*farmān*].
5th To gett 4000 rupees towns for the Honourable President.
6th His preposterous Account and refusing to take what allowed.
7th The Goorzeburder [*gurzbardār*] getting the Phirmaund [*farmān*] and Seerhauds [Sarhād's] disappointment.
8th The project for 50,000 rupees from the King."

240. LETTER XLIX[1].

"TO THE HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES ESQR. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies &ca Councill In Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

Our last was October the 7th after which dispatch came to hand your Honour &cas dated September the 19th by this we observe your orders to wait in Patna for the Arrivall of the Soldiers design'd hither for our Convoy. We find our Letters dispatch'd in the way were very long in their passage: so that the boats will not arrive so soon as wish'd for. After waiting some time we Surmiz'd your Honour &ca might think the Sending boats and Soldiers unnecessary, the accustom'd troubles of the way from hence to Rājamall [Rājmahal] being much clear'd

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[1] This letter is to be found in the 'Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman &ca as before.

by the present Subah [*subahdar*], and finding we were able to doe nothing for the Service of Our Honourable Masters in Patna for reasons mention'd in our former Letter, we took a resolution to leave the place as the only way to save Expences, and accordingly had advanc'd money both for boats and men before your Honour &c^as Letter arriv'd when it was too late to recede.

Since our Factory has been withdrawn the Merchandize of Salt Petre has laid Chiefly in the hands of the Dutch; So most of our Undertakers are immediately Employ'd by them. The Common prize of Petre the last Year has been from 1r. 12a. to 2r. 8a. nay 12a. and (as we are inform'd) They have been able to buy none without Dadney [*dādnī*]. The very Top of their Undertakers having left Considerable Debts behind them. It is the Custom of these Sort of Merchants seldom to Clear such Debts but run on sometimes more sometimess less seeing the Buyer is not able to be without them, and if the business happens to be stopt or the Factory withdrawn or the Kings Death, they generally all sink very little being to be recovered afterwards.

The kings Phirmaund [*farmān*] and the most Severe orders are little minded by Seerbulund Cawn [Sarbuland Khān] as we have Experienc'd, we left no way unattempted to give him notice on what Grounds the Honourable Company would resettle a Factory. We do beleive he has heard of it, But we could never get any Assurances of having itt Effected, seeing all to whom we made Application absolutely denyed to move therein, representing it as an Affair impracticable. As for the House the Bootade [*būyutāt*] give us an Answer: That the Subah [*sūbahdār*] order'd the House should be given us in Case we resettled a Factory, but that the King did not give it us to be let to hire.

We were told by everyone the Nabob Expected we would make him a Visit and withall a present. But we having no orders, and beleiving it only money flung away we ended one and Sav'd the other, which has not a little nettled him.

We had very strick orders on him Contain'd in the Goorzeburdars [*gurzbardār's*] and Chilahs dusticks [*chelah's dastaks*] to Conduct us with a good Force thro' his Jurisdiction. But

these met with the same reception as the rest, he absolutely denying to give either guard or dustick [*dastak*], But saying as we were on our way we might Securely goe about our Business without any molestation Notwithstanding all the noise our Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] Could make he could not gett admittance to his Presence, but received the above answer from without, by all this your Honour &c[a] will judge whether it is feasible to settle a Factory during his residence. We are ordering the Vackile [*vakīl*] to make a heavy Complaint att Court, and have likewise order'd the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] to write to his Droga [*darogh̲ah*] who will immediately petition his Majesty, most orders that Came from Court are as little regarded, so that there are vast Numbers of Complaints against him daily, And as he does not take Care to oblige any one Officer at Court, It is next to impossible he Should remain long here.

We are moving down and intend to make our Stage to day at Bar [Bārh] and that the Goorzebardar [*gurzbardār*] with the Elephant and Horses make the like stages with us till our Approach near Rajamoll [Rājmahal] when we shall Concert measures that his and our Arrival may be about the same time at Hughly by (proper), Advices given (? giving) your Honour &c[a] time(ly) notice to add what fuller Orders you may Judge Convenient.

Inclos'd comes Accounts Cash Warehouse and Charges Generall with Copys of our Consultations for the months July and August. We should have added September but the Sickness that attended us as well as our Servants on coming off our Journey must plead our Excuse and referr us to the next conveyance.

In our last Letter from Mittersein [Mitr Sēn], he acknowledges the Receipt of ours wherein we Complain'd that Jaffor Cawn [Ja'far K̲h̲ān] had not allowed the Mint nor the Calcutta Towns, of all which he gave a particular Account to our Friend Sallabut Cawn [Ṣalābat K̲h̲ān] who had given him his word to acquaint Cawndora [K̲h̲ān Daurān] of the matter prosecuting it to the utmost. To this Intention he had received the Petition the Vackeel [*vakīl*] had drawn up. What may be the Consequence he has not yet advis'd. He farther writes that about this Time Cawndora's Vackeel [K̲h̲ān Daurān's *vakīl*] had been very inquisitive after the Copy of our Phirmaund

farmān] to which Mittersein [Mitr Sēn] replyed he had it not, but for any particulars he might have them in his own Books. This made the other Suspect something that ought not to be was upon the anvill Upon enquiry into the Duanny Ketcherry [*dīwānī kachahrī*] he could meet with nothing. But from Cawndora's [Khān Daurān's] moonchy [*munshi*] he had an item That Jaffor Cawn [Ja'far Khān] had complain'd against Severall of our grants however that no orders were yet given to our prejudice, wherefore Mittersein [Mitr Sēn] being now forewarn'd he would take the necessary Precautions. In return to this by the Shroffs [*sarrāfs*] Conveyance we have given him what advice we are able.

The Dutch tell us they have late Letters of about 21 days from their Vackeel [*vakīl*] in Dilly advising the King had received a Letter from the Grand Segnior complaining that he assisted the European, by letting them have the Merchandize of Salt Petre and that he hoped he would prohibit them that Commodity upon this the King had given orders to prohibett it which may be expected here in some days. We do not assert the truth of this Story, Our own Vackeel [*vakīl*] not writing about it, but as theirs are the latest advices it may be so. To make it seem the more probable, there is an Envoy from the Zeriff [*sharīf*] of Mecha [Mecca] (called Hadgee Saula) [Hajī Sālār] at Court who brought 75 horses and who is very great with Enoitoola Cawn ['Inayatullah Khān] lately arriv'd from Mecca. This last being a great Stickler for their Superstition may possibly have obtained this order from the King. The Dutch likewise Show'd us another Paper bring a sort of Address from the Phowsdar [*faujdār*] of Metchlipatam [Masuipatam] to his Majesty that they had notice the King intended to grant us the renting province off Divy [Dīvī] that in former times all Europeans had endeavour'd to gett the place offering vast Summs of money for it and that in Case we had it granted us it would ruin the Port of Metchlipatam [Masulipatam]. Upon the phirmaund [*farmān*] His Majesty sign'd, That the Vizier petition about itt We have no farther design in advising of this than of a Story we have heard, and which we either Expect to have asserted 'or denyed by the first Advices from our Vackeel [*vakīl*].

We have now drawn a Bill of Exchange for 2000 Siccas Received and payable to Gowaldass Chevuldass which we desire may be duly Honour'd,

and are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
Your most Obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Ray-pora [Rāepūrā]
October the 23rd
1717.

241. DIARY.

October 23rd. "Arrived att No-adda [Nauwādā][1]".

October 24th and 25th "Demurrage. Gentue-Holydays. The Mutsuddys and Vakiles arrived from the City in the Evening."

October 26th "Arrived att Diriapoor [Darīyāpur][2]".

October 27th. "Arrived att Soosgurrah [Sūrajgarhā][3]".

October 28th. "Arrived att Mungeer [Mungēr]. Received news that Furruckseer [Farrukhsiyār] had a son Born[4]."

October 29th. "Arrived att Jehaungeera [Jahāngīra][5]."

October 30th. "Arrived att Boglepore [Bhāgalpur]."

October 31st. "Arrived att Colgong [Kahlgāon][6]."

"Arrived att Gungapursaud [Gangaprasād][7]. No Body from Cunna offered to molest us, butt were rather ready to

[1] Nauwādā is also in the Fatūhā *thāna* of the Bārh subdivision, 4 miles from Rāepūrā.

[2] Darīyapūr is in the Bārh *thāna* and subdivision, 23 miles from Nāuwādā.

[3] Sūrajgarhā is the head-quarters of the *thāna* in the sadar subdivision of the Munger district, 21 miles south-west of Mungēr The temple of Gaurishankar here has been almost all washed away by the river. A bathing festival and fair are still held

[4] This child was born on the 16th Ẕū-l-qadah, 1129 H. or the 11th October, 1717 N S. The mother was the daughter of Sādāt Khān Māzāndaranī. The name given to the boy was Murād Shāh. He died on the 11th May, 1718 N S.

[5] Sultangānj Jahāngīrā is in the Sultangānj *thāna* in the *sadar* subdivision of the Mungēr district, 23 miles south-east of Mungēr. Two great rocks here jut out by the river bank, one is crowned by a Musulman mosque, the other by a temple of the Gāibnāth Siva

[6] Kahlgāon in the *parganā* and *thāna* of the same name is the second largest town in the Bhāgalpur district, Mahmūd Shāh, the last independent King of Bengal, died here in A D 1539

[7] Ganga-prasūd, a town in the Purniah district, 43 m. S of Purniah, Lat 25° 10′ long. 87° 38′

November 1st. run from their houses. Mr. Gammon and his party arrived in the Afternoon. The Dutch Boates Att Sicry-Gully [Sakrīgalī][1]."

November 2nd. "Demurrage. The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*], Elephant and Horses sent before."

November 3rd. "Arrived over against Rauge-mahall [Rāj-mahal]."

November 4th. "Demurrage. The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] &c^a^. gone forward."

November 5th "Demurrage. Wrote to the Honourable President &c^a^. in Bengall."

242. Letter L[2].

"To the Honourable Robert Hedges Esq. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants in England trading to the East Indies & c^a^. Councill In Bengall.

Honourable Sir and Sirs

We gave your Honour & c^a^. notice of our departure from Patna the 23rd Ultimo, Seerbolund Cawn [Sarbuland Khān] refusing to give us either Convoy or Dustick [*dastak*], it was the Generall Rumour he would send some People to serach out boats after goods that we might have laden'd thereon. But we heard afterwards that on due Consideration he ordered no body to molest us saying he would take his Satisfaction from the Merchants who had dealt with us, We Came down in very good order, neither Raja Tabossein nor other Phowsdars [*faujdars*] in the way daring disturb us. The Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] and our people by land were of very good Service by their Appearance causing the Kings Order to be Complyed with in procuring a guard each night for our Security. Cunna was the only place expected would be disobedient, having stopd the Dutch boats for 9 Days and demanding a great sum of money, however this was like the rest, nobody appearing

[1] Sakrīgali, the narrow pass.

[2] This letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman & ca", as before.

to impede our passage. The Surprize was on their Side (as we were afterwards advised) the Inhabitants leaving the place with the Apprehension of their former Usage. At our Arrivall at Gungapursaud [Gangaprasād] the 1st. we met with Mr. Gammon, the party of Budgerows and Soldiers which your Honour & c[a]. had sent us, and the 3rd in the Afternoon arrived before this Place. The 4th the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] Elephant and Horses left itt, they have orders to make the best of their way towards Hughly, 10 days being Calculated for their Journey, So we all hope to be there the 13th Instant. We are in Expectation what Orders Your Honour & c[a]. may please to give Concerning our farther proceedure, or how the Kings favours are to be received by the Honourable President.

This Letter goes to night in a Boat as far as Convenient, we intend to reiterate it by a boat on our Arrivall at Ruechy or Nuddea [Nadiyā].

Enclosed Comes Accounts Cash Warehouse and Charges Generall for September which is the last heavy Account we shall send your Honour & c[a], there are likewise the Copys of Consultations.

We are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
Your most Obedient humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Rajamoll [Rājmaḥal]
Nov. 5th.
At Night.
1717.

243. DIARY.

November 6th. "Arrived over Against Aurungabad [Aurangābād][1]."

November 7th. "Arrived att Murcha[2]."

November 8th. "Arrived att Jelungy [Jalangī][3]. Some Merchants Boats with the Honourable Presidents Dustick [*dastak*], came into Our Company."

[1] This place was nearly three miles W. of Suti in the Murshidābād district. See Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, Map No. 15.

[2] This place was nearly nine miles S E. of Bagwāngolā in the Murshidābād district. See Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, Map No. 15.

[3] Jalangi is a *thana* of the same name in the Murshidābād district lies on the Jalangi or Kharīā river, 24° 8′ 10″ lat. north and 88° 44′ 35″ long. east.

November 9th. "Arrived att Murgamorra [Mirgi][1]."

November 10th "Arrived at Kissengunge [Kishṭnagar][2]. Wrote to the Honourable President and Councill in Bengall."

244. LETTER LI[3].

"HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The Foregoing is Copy of what we wrote your Honour & ca. the 5th Instant. The Lowness of the Waters has made the Turns of the River so great as very much to delay our passage so that its very likely the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] may make more Speed by Land than we Can by water. We appointed him to meet us at Amboa where we intend to waite your Honour & c.as Orders, we hope to arrive the 12th at Night or 13th in the Morning if the weather favours us. We dispatch this by a nimble Boat on purpose to give your Honour & ca. timely advice,

And are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
Your most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Kissengunge,
a days Journey
above Ruehy [Rēui][4]
November the 10th
1717.

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[1] Mirgi, in *thāna* Tehātā in the Mihrpur subdivision, is nearly 20 miles S.W. of Jalangi.

[2] Kishṭnagar, also in *thāna* Tehātā, sometimes called Kisnganj, is 4 8/10 miles S W of Mirgi.

[3] This Letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman & ca" as before.

[4] Rēui is the old name for Kṛishnagara, the city on the Jalangi, east of Nadīya. The place is mentioned more than once in the *Kshitiśavamśāvalicharitam*, or *Chronicle of the family of Rāja Kṛishṇachandra of Navadvipa.* According to this chronicle the change of name was made by an ancestor of Kṛishṇachandra, Rāja Rudrarāya, who rules from 1683 to 1694. 'Rēuiti prasiddhagramē gōgōpānam bahūnāmādhishṭhānamataḥ prasangataḥ krishṇanāmasmaranādyartham cha tadgrāmasya krishṇanagarēti samñgām chakāra'. 'The place Rēui he called Kṛishṇanagara in honour of Kṛishṇa and because many herdsmen lived there.' See *Kshitiśavamśāvalicharitam,* edited and translated by W. Pertsch, Berlin, 1852, p. 26, II. 20, 21, in the original, and p. 21 of the translation

According to the same authority Rāja Rāghava, the father of Rudrarāya, 'erected in the village called Rēui a beautiful residence, and built to the east and to the west of it two palaces like mountains, and in the south a seraglio with a multitude of magnificent palaces.' Rudrarāya, having changed the

245. DIARY.

November 11th. "Arrived at Ruehy [Rēui]."
November 12th. "Arrived at Ambowa [Ambikā][1]."
November 13th "The Goorzeburdar, [*gurzbardār*] Elephant, Horses, & c[a]. Joined us. Demurrage."
November 14th. "Nothing remarkable—Demurrage."

"Early this morning arrived a Generall Letter from Fort William. Arrived att Trivenny [Trivenī]. Another Generall Letter arrived from Fort William. Wrote to Fort William, and dispatched Ensign Gammon with his party off Soldiers and Budgerows. The second and ffourth in the Dutch Councill Came, in the Director off Huglys name, to Welcome Mr. Surman on his arrival." November 15th

246. LETTER LII[2].

"To The HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES ESQR. Governour of Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies & c[a]. Councill In Bengall.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Your Honour & c[a]. of the 12 Inst. came to hand this morning early, upon which we immediately put our Selves in order of Removall and the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] goes to Hughly today but it being the Same person that brought the

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name, had erected there by a Mohammedan architect a palace, and built a causeway from there to Śāntipura From this time it seems to have been the residence of the kings of Nadīya

The English were on good terms with the Nadīya *rājas*. In particular the *Chronicle* states that Rāmakṛishna, the son of Rudrarāya lived in friendship with Vaḍa Sāheb, 'who at that time was governor of the southern foreigners in Calcutta. The latter, therefore, showed likewise continual friendship towards him, and placed a garrison of 2,500 so-called 'soldiers", who were skilled in the use of all kinds of weapons and missiles, in Kṛishnanagara to execute the plans of Rāmakṛishna'.

In March 1710 the Council went to Rēui for a few days to take the air. See Vol 1, p. 329, § 372 Perhaps they were present at the festivities in honour of the birth of Krishnachandra in 1710.

[1] Ambika is a part of Kalna in the Burdwan district. It is 12 miles south of Nadīya.

[2] This Letter is to be found in the "Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman & c[a]." as before

Governour his Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] he makes a little Hesitation, whether or no its proper to be given so near Calcutta, So much Ceremony being given for one Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] as Coming up to Hughly & ca. and there receiving it in the Eye of the world this may appear a slight to such Vast Favours. He says he shall go to the Government of Hughly and see whether any of them will attend him down to Calcutta to be present as is Customary at the receivall. We beleive we shall not find him very obstinate, and that they can have no other Reason to deny it but the Single Precedent of the former Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*], should there be any farther Hesitation, We shall stay a day at Hughly and wait your Honours & ca. Orders, if not we shall Come down to the place of your Honour & ca. have appointed, we Suppose your Honour & ca. have pitcht a Tent or Canopy with Cunnaut [*kanāts*][1] round it 2 or 300 yds. before their other Tents to receive the Favours in. As for any other Ceremonies there are none only Tusleeming[2] for Each particular thing as often as is Customary, which as we shall have the Honour of being present we shall duely inform.

Pursuant to your Honour & ca Orders M. Gammon with the party of men he brought up is on his way to your Honour & c.

Amboa	We Are
the 15th	HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
November	Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
7 in the	JOHN SURMAN
morning.	EDWARD STEPHENSON."

247. LETTER LIII[3].

"To The HONOURABLE ROBERT HEDGES EQSR. Governour of the Fort William and President for Affairs of the Honourable English East India Company & ca. Councill in Bengall.

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[1] The canvas screens which form the walls of a tent are called *kanāts*. Upon the receipt of an imperial *farman* it was usual to put up a *gulāl bār* or red enclosure. The ceremoney of receiving the *farman*, placing it on the head and eyes, and bowing with the face towards Delhi was performed within this enclosure

[2] That is performing the *taslim* or salutation.

[3] This letter is to be found in the 'Copy Books of Letters received from Mr. Surman & ca., and is the last in the Vol. on point of date.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS

We wrote your Honour this morning in answer to a Letter dated the 12th instant which we hope is arrived ere this Can reach your hands, the Occasion of repeating it so soon is the receipt of your Honour & c. of the 14th, in the former Letter we advised what the Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*] said when we told him the orders you had given of having the Phirmaund [*farmān*] &c^{a}. received so near Calcutta, we durst not at that Time be so free of our opinion least it might have (been) taken as a piece of presumption but since your Honour & c^{a}. have been plase'd to give us Liberty it is now our duty. Had not the Honourable Governour come above Hughly to receive the Seerpaw [*sar-o-pā*] sent by the King before ,we don't know any Custom that obliges him to Come so ffar it being usuall only to Send Tents out 2 or 3 Coarse [*kos*] from the Place of Residence to receive such favours as Rajahs and the Nobility of that Kingdom are wont to doe, we have heard Governour Pit [t] received a Vest from Behauder Shaw [Bahādur Shāh] as like wise a Generall of Surratt, but never heard that They made a Journey of 12 Coarse [*kos*], yet for all that as your Honour & c^{a}. have made a late precedent in this Part of India upon so small an Occasion as receiving a Vest alone; should not the same Respect be shown upon this Account it might be taken by the Government of this Country as a Slight of the Kings Favours, and if ill represented to his Majesty be of bad Consequence which Consideration we humbly Conceive may Countervail the loss of the of the Time and Charge that it may take to come so ffar, We hope Ensign Gammon will be with you some time tomorrow, The Budgerows we shall empty and send away immediately waiting your farther orders at this place.

We are
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS
Your Most Obedient Humble Servants
JOHN SURMAN
EDWARD STEPHENSON."

Trivene
[Triveṇi]
Nov. the 15th.
1717.

248. DIARY.

November 16th. "Demurrage."

November 17th. "Demurrage. Arrived a Generall Letter from Fort William."

November 18th. "Demurrage."

November 19th. "Hugh Barker sent from Mr. Surman & c^a^. to waite upon the Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. at Hughly."

November 20th. "The Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. attended by some Gentlemen off the Councill, The Inhabitants off note in Calcutta, and Soldiers off Fort William came above Hughly; where the Honourable President received The ffollowing things from His Imperial Majesty Furruckseer [Farrukhsīyar] by the Hands off a Goorzeburdar [*gurzbardār*], and in the presence off the Wackanagar [*wāqiā 'hānigār*] & c^a^. and proper Officers.

1 Phirmaund [*farmān*]
1 Vest
1 Cunger [*khanjar*]
1 Pudduck[1]
1 Elephant
Otter (etc.) off Roses 50 Tola.
Shauls and Suratt Atlas [*atlas*, *i.e.* satin] 82 pieces.'

249. CONSULTATION.

December 14th, Fort William

"Att the commencement off this negotiation, The Honourable President and Councill off Bengall gave us a Supply off Clothes and necessarys, together with the Gentlemen that accompany'd us; not beleiving this Affair would be protracted to so great a length, or that the Court of Indostan would become so Expensive in Outward Appearance. Wherefore being our Selves obliged to make up this deficiency, have brought nothing to Account butt the

[1] *Padak*, an ornament for the neck, a badge, a flat plate of gold or other metal—See Platts' *Dictionary*, 232, and Herklots' *Qanoon-e-islam* (Reprint), app. p. xxiii.

produce off the Honourable Companys Warehouse. Every thing being now so happyly concluded and our Commission att an End, we beleive this a proper time to bring in an account off Extraordinary and unavoidable Expences, during the negotiation.

Mr. Jn° Surmans	Acco^t	5708 ,,	1 ,,	
Mr. E. Stephensons	Do	811 ,,	12 ,,	3
H. Barker	Do	614 ,,	— ,,	—
Mr. Thos. Philips	Do	321 ,,	13 ,,	—
		7455	10	3

All which being duely Examin'd, and ffinding nothing butt what was really necessary on this occasion, Agreed they be paid Accordingly.

Agreed That Account Current Calcutta be debted for the ffoot and Ballance off the ffollowing Accounts As per particulars to be Entered in Journall.

		Rs.	A.	P.
Plate	delivered the Honble Presid^t Robert Hedges Esq.	2635	—	6
Pallankeens-5 .. .	Do. the Buxy (*bakhshi*) Mr. Dean.	2130	—	9
House Furniture ..	Do do do.	1209	6	—
Cattle— 18 Horses 5 Camells 2 Oxen ..	Do do. do.	5121	—	—
Carpetts and Nummauts[1] ..	Do. do. do	925	—	—
Tents	Do. do. do.	1701	—	—
Escrutores and Trunks ..	Do The Honbl^e Presid^t	70	—	—

[1] *Namād* (Persian) or *namadq* (Urdū), a coarse wollen cloth, a felt rug. It is also applied to the felt cloth placed under a saddle, introduced at the time of the Crimean War.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Warehouse Necessarys— 1 Large Beam 1 Small do. with Copper Scales.	.. Do.	The Warehouse Keeper Mr Brown.	48	4	—
Fire Armes ..	.. Do.	do. do	261	12	—
Boates ..	.. Do	The Buxy [*bakhshi*], Mr. Dean.	106	4	—
Household Necessarys	. Do.	do do	447	3	—
Elephant Furniture	. Do	do do.	83	9	9
Seerhauds Durbar [*Sarhād's darbar*] Royall ..	.	....	11264	2	—
C Seerhaud [Sarhād] -the Ball. of his Acct.	..	....	3435	9	6
Mr. Jne Surmans Acct. Apparell	.	....	399	4	—
Mr E Stephensons do.	..	..	342	5	6
Mr Wm Hamiltons do	.	...	265	5	—
H Barkers do.	.	...	233	7	—
Mr Thos. Philips, do	..		87	14	—
Ruggoe-ponditts [Raghu *pandit's*]	.	..	653	2	—
Gololchund [Gulālchand]	.	....	100	—	—
King Furruckseers [Farrukhsīyars] Royall Phirmaund [*farman*]	..	..	599305	2	1

Agreed that all presents and Expences In Generall be credited by the Royal Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] off His Imperial Majesty Furruckseer [Farrukhsīyar] King off Indostan.

To be Entered in Journall .. 599305.2.1.

God be praised We have now perfectly ffinished this Grand Affair; and after many uneasy thoughts from all sides, have answered the Wishes of Every one, viz.t in the delivery off the substantiall phirmaunds [*farmāns*] & ca. Grants with their Attested Copys, to the Honourable Robert Hedges Esqr. Presi-

dent and Governour off Fort William & c^{a}. Councill in Bengall. Itt may nott be improper, In concluding this Book off Consultations, to write something in reference to what has gone before; Butt to Summ up or Even Abbreviate the whole, is as impossible, as itt is distant from Our Intentions. There is no other way off coming to a Clear knowledge how this grand Affair has Succeeded, than by a Serious Scrutiny and perusall off this Book from the Beginning to the End, ffor which purpose we heartyly and Humbly commend itt to the Honourable President and Councill off Bengall; For Since we have acted directly under their influence, to them Alone must be imputed the Glory.

Since the trade off Europeans in these parts, there have been Sundry Attempts off this kind; Butt the Grants Obtained have been off very little value, tho' att a much Superiour Expence. May those we have gain'd be as Lasting as they are great is Our Earnest wishes.

JN^{o}. SURMAN
EDWD. STEPHENSON.'

APPENDIX

CONTAINING ORIGINALL INSTRUCTIONS, A SUMMARY OF FORMER GRANTS, AND FRAGMENTS OF PRECEDING NEGOTIATIONS.

I

GENERALL INSTRUCTIONS FROM YE CHIEF SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA CONCERNING YE NEGOTIATIONS AT THE COURT OFF KING FURRUCKSEER (FARRUKHSIYAR).

1. INSTRUCTIONS FROM FORT ST. GEORGE.

*Copy off a Paragraph from the Hon^ble^* PRESIDENT *and* COUNCILL *In* FORT ST. GEORGE *to the Hon^ble^* PRESIDENT *and* COUNCILL *off* BENGALL.

Dated y^e^ 9th October 1711.

What we had desire in y^e^ Phirmaund [*farmān*[was a confirmation off all our priviledges according to Sallabad [*sālābād*][1] and some ffew particular matters as per inclosed Copy off a Letter wrote by Gov^r^. Pitt to Zeaudy Caun, [Ẓiyāu-d-Dīn Khān] to all which we should be very glad iff our title to y^e^. Villages off Jevinapatam [Chennapatnam][2] granted by Zulphacor Caun [Ẓū-l-fiqār Khān] could be conform'd. That we may have no more off these Chargeable disputes with Serroopsing [Sarūp Sinha] or any other Future Govern^r^. off Chingee [Jinjī]. We pray God to bless your Endeavours in this business on which the ffuture prosperity off our Masters affairs does in a great measure depend.

Copy D^o^. *October 23rd* 1711.

AND now having answered what contained in Yours, we shall only add that we have in an Enclosed Letter apart given you a ffull account off our Ancient priviledges on this Coast, when granted and how confirm'd, off which we shall dispatch you Copys in a day or two by land, which considering The Season we may Expect will reach you before this.

[1] Prescriptive right. The term is derived, according to Yule's *Glossary*, p. 593, from the Persian words *sāl*, year, and *ābād*, replenished, well-filled Apparently it had the odd meaning, in Marhattah and Southern Indian. usuage, of 'perennial' 'prescriptive'

[2] That is, Madras.

2. Position of the Madras Presidency.

An Account off our ffirst Settlement att Fort St George with Severall priviledges granted us from time to time att this and other places on yᵉ Coast off Cormandell.

Anno 1643[1] Agent Ive Left Armagon to Settle in this place[2], having a Cowl [*qaul*] from Serangoe Royalloo [Sriranga Rayal] Jentue[3] King off this Country, inpowering us to build a Fort and Bulworks, to import and Export Custom ffree, only paying half yᵉ Town Custom to ye Duan [*dīwān*] the other half to

[1] This is a mistake The year should be either 1640, when Fort St. George was founded, or 1645, when Sri Ranga III granted the *qaul*

[2] This is altogether wrong In 1639, Thomas Ivy was agent at Masulipatam With his permission, Francis Day, who was at this time Chief at Armagon, went, in July 1639, to the Madras coast, having been invited to Settle there by a powerful Naik Venkatappa who was the *de facto* ruler of that Country, though nominally subordinate to the titular king of Vijayanagar Day found that Madras would be an excellent trade centre The Naik gave him a favorable *qaul*, dated August, 1639 Meanwhile, Ivy had been superseded at Masulipatam by Andrew Cogan Cogan supported Day's views

On February 6, 1640, Cogan received a doubtful Letter from Surat permitting a settlement at Madras 'A fortnight later Cogan and Day arrived at Madraspatam in the *Eagle* after dismantling the Factory at Armagon. The erection of a fort was commenced as soon as possible, and from the name given to it, we may infer that part (perhaps the inner fort) was finished by St. George's Day (23rd April)' The Court of Directors called Cogan to account for his action in founding Fort St George. In August 1643, Cogan made over the charge of the Settlement to Day On August 4, 1644 Day was relieved by Thomas Ivy On November 15, 1645, a *qaul* for Madras was granted to Agent Ivy by Sri Ranga III, *rāja* of Chandragiri, and the titular king of Vijayanagar See *The Founding of Fort St George*, Madras, by William Foster, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902, pp 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 21, 22, 24, 32, 33 and 34

I am afraid that I connot agree with Mr Foster that the English obtained any *qaul* from Venkatapati (p 17) There is no mention anywhere of Venkatapati, and the English had nothing to do with him The clearest statement on the point is found in the letter quoted on p 30 "Wee have bin often tymes sollicited by this kinge [Sri Ranga] to give him a visitt which was never yett done to him or his predecessors since our first arrivall here which is now 7 years allmost We are resolved to send upp Mr Henry Greenhill with foure other English souldiers for his attendance for the reconfirmation of what was granted upto Mr Cogan by the great Nague, under whose protection formerly wee liv'd, but now the kings hath taken his power and this cuntry from him, soe his power and protection is of noe longer vallue.' The English at first regarded the Naik as practically king of the Country, and were contented with his *qaul*, or *qauls*, if they received another in 1643 when they sent the *peshkash* (p. 18), which I should think very doubtful 'Those Cowles of the former King and our Nagues' (p 26) I should regard as an obvious exaggeration

[3] Gentile, *i e*, Hindu.

be reserved to y^e Company. The same Cowl [*qaul*] grants us all y^e Ground belonging to Madrass, and give ffull power to Execute justice upon our own Inhabitants and all others that dwell among us. The Gov^r. off Pullimully [Pundamalli] is strictly fforbidden from meddling with any off our Inhabitants as are all Juncaneers[1] from stopping our Provisions.

In case any off our Ships were wreck'd upon y^e Coast, All Goods that were saved to be for our own Account, and the said Raja obliges himself to protect us on all occasions to the utmost off his power.

Some years After y^e Grant off the Afforesaid Gowl [*qaul*], Nabob Meer Zumbla [Mīr Jumlah] having conquered the Cornata [Karnātah] Country, for y^e King off Golconda [Gulkhandah], confirmed itt word for word in Another Cowl [*qaul*] granted by himself.

Anno 1671. Sir William Langorn Agent entered into articles with the then Nabob Uecknam Caun [Ikrām Khān, or Neknām Khān] to pay a certain Sum off 1200 pagodas yearly for y^e Ground rent off this place and y^e towns depending. The Nabob att y^e same time granted a Cowl [*qaul*] repeating and confirming all y^e priviledges given us by his predecessors, which Cowl [*qaul*] is a recitall off that granted by y^e Jentue King only somewhat more ffuly Explain'd.

Anno 1672., Moosa Caun [Mūsa Khān] succeeded Yecknam Caun [Ikrām Khān] in y^e Government off y^e Cornatta [Karnātah] Country under y^e King off Colconda [Gulkhandah], and confirmed all y^e fforementioned priviledges in a new cowl [*qaul*] under his hand and Seal.

In the Same year the King off Golconda [Gulkhandah] granted a Phirmaund [*farmān*] to Mr. Mahan [Mohun] Chief off Metchlapatam [Masulipatam] and to all y^e rest off the English nation, allowing them trade Custom ffree through out all his dominions.

Anno 1674. The King of Golconda [Gulkhandah] granted a General Phirmaund [*farmān*] confirming all our ancient priviledges according to Sallabad [*sālābād*][2] and permitting us to build Ships any where on y^e Sea Coast; and issued out a

[1] Collectors of *changam* or Customs

[2] According to prescriptive right, perennially, perputually.

Husbul Hoocum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukm*] to all his great Officers through out ye Kingdom Strictly prohibitting them from Molesting us in our trade by Exacting Custom or Juncan money in any off ye ports or places in his Country.

Anno 1676. The King off Golconda [Gulkhandah] granted a Phirmaund [*farmān*] to Sir William Langorn confirming all our fformer priviledges in a very ample manner with an additi n off severall new Articles as you will see in ye Copy sent herewith. We have likewise added ye Copys off the fforegoing Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] and Cowles [*qauls*] for your perusall.

This is all we have remaining upon record, during ye reign off the King off Golconda [Gulkhandah], and Itt is very strange that we have a better Account upon our Books off what was transacted so long agoe, than off what has been done these later days. However we shall proceed to give you as good an Account as we can pick out off abundance off Books and papers which we have been obliged to goe through upon this occasion; off what has been done since Sir William Langorns time.

During the Government off Agent Masters and President Gifford we find nothing new Except ye settling off some small Factorys to the Southward As Conimeer [Kūnimedu], Cudalore [Kūdalūr], and Porto Novo under the Raja off Chingee [Jinjī], which places being withdrawn, (except Cudalore [Kūdalūr] off which we shall speak hereafter) there will be no occasion to say any thing off them.

We remain'd in peaceable possession off our priviledges till ye Mogull Came into these parts, to ye Conquest off Golconda [Gulkhandah] and Vizapore [Bijāpūr] when Mr. Elihu Yale and his Councill thought itt necessary to send an Armenian One Coja Avakues[1] to reside in ye Mogulls Camp as their) Vakeel [*vakil*] to treat for a Phirmaund [*farmān*] which was in ye year 1688.

This Vakeel [*vakil*] wrote word that he had brought matters very near a conclusion, When att the same time Letters were sent from ye Camp That Generall Child att Bombay had made a peace with ye Moors, and was to have a Generall Phirmaund

[1] [The original correspondence, which I have had copied for another purpose, shows that the name of this Armenian, employed by Governor Elihu Yale, was Aavanues or Abnūs W.I.].

[*farmān*] from y^e^ Mogull, in which this place and Bengal were to be included; which putt a ffull stop to what Gov^r^. Yale was then doing; and y^e^ Vakeel [*vakil*] was ordered to distribute no more money till ffurther orders.

All that we can find off this Phirmaund [*farmān*] upon our Books is a very Slight paper containing nothing materiall to y^e^ purpose. The next steps that were made towards getting a Phirmaund [*farmān*], were in the year 1692 by Mr. Yale when Caum Bucksh [Kām Bakhsh], Assid Caun [Asad Khān] and Zulphacor Caun [Zū-l-fiqār Khan] were att Chingee [Jinjī][2], When Mess^rs^. Trenchfield and Pitt were sent ffrom this place, to waite upon them with a considerable present, Upon which they obtain'd liberty ffor our Mint with a Nishaun [*nishān*] from y^e^ Prince, and Phirmaund [*farmān*] and Dustock [*dastak*] from Assid Caun [Asad Khān], off which we sent you Copys. And you may observe that a Phirmaund [*farmān*] is therein promised, butt has never been complyed with.

Another Essay was made in Mr. Higgisons time Anno 1695 to procure a Phirmaund [*farmān*] when Zulphacor Caun [Ẓu-l-fiqār Khān] was with a Camp in these parts Employed in y^e^ Conquest off Ellore Butt all that Mr. Higgison Could procure was Perwannas [*parwānas*] to confirm our privilidges according to Sallabad [*sālābād*], and so this matter has rested ffrom that time to this, and we have been pretty Easy, only upon alterations off Government, The Great Men have been always troublesome and Exacting off money. We have now given you a ffull Account of all that has ever been done, for securing our privilidges in this Settlement.

Fort St. Davids and Cudalore [Kūdalūr] were granted us in 1688 by Ram-Rauz [Rāma Rāja] Raja off Chingee [Jīnjī], and when Zulphacor Caun [Ẓu-l-fiqār Khān] conquer'd that City he was pleased to confirm y^e^ Grant off that and y^e^ depending villages.

Vizagapatam was granted us by Nabob Seer Lascar in y^e^ King off Golcondas time Anno 1682 or thereabouts, which we

[2] Kām Bakhsh was 'Alamgir's youngest son, Asad Khān was his *wazīr*; and Zūlfiqār-Khān son of Asad Khan, his *mīr bakhshī* The investment of Jinjī began in 1691, and the place was taken in January, 1698. Kām Bakhsh was placed in command on the 6th June, 1691, N.S.

have enjoy'd ever since, butt never without great troubles ffrom ye Nabobs that govern the Carlingo [Kalinga] Country.

3. Letter to the Bengal Councill.

To the Honble. John Russell Esqr. President and Governour & ca. Councill att Fort William In Bengall.

Honble Sir and Sirs

Having acquainted you with our Circumstances we come next to offer our Opinion, what we think will be best to procure for us in ye Generall Phirmaund [*farmān*].

Iff we should descend to insist upon many particulars, we are advised that itt will be a hinderance to ye Affair in Generall, and may make them demand a much Larger sum than itt may be you are impowered to part with.

Wherefore we choose rather to have itt in generall terms That is to say a confirmation off our Ancient privilidges Granted by ye Jentue[1] Kings off this Country, renew'd by ye Kings off Golconda [Gulkhandah], Since his time by Severall Nabobs & Lastly by Assid Caun [Asad Khān] Zulphacor Caun [Ẓu-l-fiqār Khān] and Caum Bucush [Kām Bakhsh].

What ffew particulars we desire were sent you in our fformer, however we now send a Copy off the same, requesting that particular care be taken to confirm ye Grant off Fort St. Davids and Tevinapatam[2], So that we may have no more plague with Seroopsean [Sarūp Sinha] Raja off Chingee [Jīnjī], who disputes our title to ye Villages, notwithstanding ye Grant from Zulphacor Caun [Ẓu-l-fiqār Khān].

And iff we are so happy as to have ye Generall phirmaund [*farmān*], Tho' some off the particulars in Governour Pitts Letter should be omitted we should think ye present very well

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[1] Gentile *i e.*, Hindu.

[2] Tēvanāmbattanam, the city of Tēvanāyakkam, the Tamil name for Fort St David, purchased by the Company from Rāma Rājah, a son of Sivaji, for 120,000 *chuckrams* in 1690.

bestow'd; iff itt amounted to double y^{e} value off what itt went from hence.

The greatest danger is their deluding us according to their old Custom with Vests, Horses and a piece off ffine paper, so doubtfully and intrinsically penn'd that itt may be off no great signification. Butt that undoubtedly will be taken care off by those whom you think fitt to Employ in this important affair.

We most sincrerely wish you Success in y^{e} undertaking, and that you may have y^{e} sole honour off accomplishing what so many able and Experienced persons Attempted in vain.

We ought never to dispair off Succeeding when we consider y^{e} many ffruitless Endeavours to unite England and Scotland in fformer reigns, and how soon att last itt was brought to perfection in this reign by willing hearts and Minds. We are

HON^{BLE} SIR AND SIRS
Your Very Humble Servants
E. Harrison
J. Frederick
H. Davenport
W. Martin
E. Buckley
W. Jennings
W. Warr
R. Hunt

Fort St. George,
October 23rd 1711.

4. LETTER TO THE AMBASSADORS FROM MADRAS.

To MR. JOHN SURMAN & C^{a}. Gentlemen Intended to Accomapny the R^{t}. Hon^{ble}. Comp^{as}. Present to the Mogull.

GENTLEMEN

We fformerly sent copys off all our Grants for the Settlements under this Presidency, by Ship *President* Anno 1711 with a letter to Explain them, We also sent Copys off Govern^{r}. Pitts

Letters to Zeaudy Caun [Ẓiyāu-d-Dīn Khān], containing what we had to insist upon particularly on this Coast for our Hon[ble] Masters advantage. We now send Duplicates off all those papers to the Hon[ble]. President and Councill to be forwarded to you, nott doubting butt your Care will be Extended to procure as much as possible for all the Settlements we have in y[e] Mogulls Dominions.

We have been called upon to particularize y[e] Names off our Villages att Fort St. Davids and those 5 fformerly granted us by Doud Caun [Dāūd Khān][1] near this place and since reassumed by y[e] present Nobob Sadutulla Caun [Sa'datullah Khān]. Accordingly in y[e] accompanying paper you will ffind them both in Persian and English, as near as we can bring them to their pronunciation.

However we are nott sure iff y[e] naming so many towns and villages may nott cause a Jealousy off their being off greater value than really they are; Wherefore that matter is left wholly to your discretion, Either to name them particularly or mention them in generall terms.

And tho' we have taken all these pains to collect y[e] Copys off our Old grants and privilidges, we cannot be off Opnion they will be off any further use, than to give you a Generall Idea off our Affairs; so as to qualify you for discoursing y[e] ministers, & answering any objections that may be started. For we are Credibly inform'd that a Generall Phirmaund [*farmān*] will be y[e] most that can be obtain'd and that will be comprized in very ffew words.

Wherefore we offer our opinion that iff you could procure y[e] Stile off the said Phirmaund [*farmān*] in relation to us to run As ffollows Viz[t]. Confirming all our Old grants and priviledges on y[e] Coast off Cormandell, as well from y[e] ancient Kings of Golconda [Gulkhandah]; as from Caum Bucksh, Assid Caun, Zulphacor

[1] Mr. Irvine notes, 'Dāūd Khān, son of Khiẓr Khān, Pannī Afghān, entered the imperial service in the 27th year of 'Ālamgīr and about 1700 became *nāib sūbahdār* of the Karnatik under Kām Bakhsh, and then under Zū-l-fiqār Khān He was killed in a battle with Sayyad Husain 'Alī Khān, Bārhah, fought near Burhānpur on the 6th Septr. 1715 N S This family was settled at Qamarnagar Karnul in the Madras Presidency. The last Nawab rebelled in 1838, and the last representative died in 1848

Caun, Doud Caun [Kām Bakhsh, Assad Khān, Ẓū-l-fiqār Khān, Dāūd Khān] and other his Majestys Nabobs and Chief ministers itt would answer our Ends as well as iff all particulars were incerted, and save you a great deal off time and unnecessary trouble.

Our ancient priviledges to be ffree of all Customes, Juncans [*changams*] or Chowkeys [*chaukis*]. To have y[e] right off all our Ships Wreck'd in the dominions off his majesty& c[a]. may be mentioned for all our Settlements in generall, and undoubtedly cannot be too ffully and Cleraly Express'd.

We believe the Hon. President and Councill in Bengall will Join with us in opinion, That iff possible there should be a Duplicate and Triplicate off the Generall Phirmaund [*farmān*] One off which was to be lodged att Bombay, the other here, to be produced whenever we are molested.

Diu [Dīvī] Island near Metchelepatam [Masulipatam] & what y[e] Moors call Divy [Dīvī] Island, has been often aimed att by y[e] Dutch, butt they could never Obtain itt. We have been Courted by y[e] Rajahs to settle there butt forbore on Accountt that we thought itt might Embroil us with the Moors Government Butt iff we could gett a grant off itt for ever from y[e] King; paying y[e] yearly rent as itt stands in his Books which is 7000 pagodas, itt would we are well assured in very ffew years reimburse y[e] whole charge off your present Expidition. Wherefore we must particularly recommend itt to you to endeavour for itt, and itt will nott be amiss iff you please to acquaint the Ministers appointed to treat with you; That itt is an Island off little use to them and no trade, butt we can with much Charge make it commodious for shipping in a ffew years, and bring a considerable trade thitherto to y[e] enriching his Majestys dominions as has Already been done in Bengall, Madrass and other places.

No Doubt butt you carry good Mapps with you off Bengall, this and the other Coast, to which you will have recourse as you see Occasion. We desire to hear from you by way of Aurungābād which C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] can easily contrive, and you shall be sure off having all necessary advices from us. We most heartyly wish you health and Success that you may have y[e] Creditt of procuring considerable Advantages to our Hon.[ble]

Masters and the British Nation, which will undoubtedly be rewarded with distinguishing marks off their ffavour.

We are
GENTLEMEN
Your affecte. ffiriends & Humble Servants
E. Harrison
W. Jennings
B. Benyon
W. Warr
R. Horden
J. Smart
T. Cooke

Fort St. George,
April 12th 1714

5. GOVERNOR PITT'S LETTER TO ẒIYĀU-D-DIN KHĀN

To ẒEAUDY CAUN [Ẓiyāu-d-dīn Khān] Lord-High-Steward of King Sha Allums [Shāh 'Ālam's] Household[1].

By your ffaithful Chubdar [*chobdār*] Cossae, by who your Excellency sent y^e Royall Husbul Hoocum [*hasbu-l-hukm*] and Vest & c^a. perwannas [*parwanas*] I now send this humble address which doubtless you Expected sooner, and had been sent but for y^e two ffollowing reasons. Your Excellency Enjoining Secrecy I was obliged to commit the translating off them to some particular ffriends which took up 14 days. When ffuly apprized off the purport thereof, I could nott butt be surprized att your unparalel'd Experssions off Friendship and invaluable honours you have done us, which so confounded my thoughts for some days, That I almost dispair'd off being able to acknowledge them by my pen or otherways. Butt then considering what a Generous ffriend I had mett with, who had been so lavish off his ffavours to one that had as little power as meritt to oblige you I could not longer refrain from blessing my Stars, who were so propitious to me as to give me the honour off your ffirst

[1] Deputy Steward would be more correct Mr. Irvine notes that according to the native historians he was originally *dīwān* of the Chīnapatam, or Madras Country After his uncle's death he was called to Court, on the 10th July, 1693, N S given the title of Khān, and appointed *buyutāt* at Court, and deputy of the *khānsāmān*, or Lord High Steward.

acquaintance, which I esteem the happy'st fate that has attended me throughout y^e whole course off my life, which I shall for ever remember, and that posterity may doe y^e same, I humbly request that when you come to Golconda, [Gulkhandah] you will honour me with sending your picture, which I will send to England, and have itt copyed by y^e most Exquisite Limner in y^e world, and order itt to be sent me hither, Besides I will erect your Effigie ffinely cutt in Marble with such an inscription on itt, that y^e world may know the author off our happiness in these parts.

I cannot butt blush when I think off giving you ffarther trouble, which I cannot avoid since you are pleased to command me in a Letter apart, wherein you propose severall things that I think my duty to give my thoughts thereon. Your Excellency gives us great hopes off the Kings Phirmaund [*farmān*] when he comes to Golconda [Gulkhandah], where God send him safe and Victorious.

Your Excellency writes that there must be presents for all y^e Princes & some off the Great men; iff you mean such as are suitable to their birth and quality, 'tis impossible for us to purchase them with our Companys Estate, who you know are Merchants that run great risques to gett a little, & who often meett with loss instead off gain. So hope, as y^e presents we intend are Suitable to our Circumstances, they will meet with a gracious acceptance from y^e Great King and princes, which puts me in mind off what we read in History That upon many persons making very rich presents to a King, There happened a poor man to come with drop off water, which was as acceptable as any off their presents being according to his ability.

And ffor what your Execllency is pleased to mention concerning Islands on y^e Coast off Peque [Pegu], Aracan, Fort off Pollicat [Palikat] & c^a. we cannot think them usefull to us: For that we desire no more Territorys in these parts than what are necessary to preserve our trade & Estates from suddain insults off flying armys Such as Morattas [Marattas] & c^a. Yett iff his Majesty would bestow on us y^e Island off Diu [Dīvī] near Metchelepatam [Masulipatam], itt may Encourage us to revive our trade in those parts, and Cultivate itt so as to make itt a proper place, to preserve itt where may be also made a Good port for the Kings and all Merchant-Ships to lye out off

danger in ye time off the Monsoon which is very much wanted, there not being one on all this Coast. Butt then you say what will we give for the ffirst second and third year. Your Excellency well knows that along ye Sea Coast 'tis nothing butt a heap off sand, and that ye improving off itt is very Chargeable, off which we have large Experience in Chinnapatam: ffor that for 60 years itt was a vast yearly Charge to us, and since brings in very little more than what defrays itt's Expences. So rather than making ye Phirmaund [*farmān*] Chargeable to us, We by your Excellencys assistance hope his Majesty will grant itt to confirm our priviledges bestowed on us by his Royall Predecessors throughout all his Dominions, with those small additions I made in my fformer Letters iff they can without difficulty be obtain'd, & for what you say off St Thoma I understand itt is lett att this time for 6000 pagodas per Annum including all ye Villages belonging thereto, Att which rate we shall be willing to take itt for a long term off years, & for no other end butt to procure our Quiet, & for Trivitore [Tiruvottiyūr][1] itt is one of ye five towns that Nabob Doud Caun [Dāūd Khān] gave us his Perwanna [*parwāna*] for on his departure, & hope we shall have ye Great Caun Behauder [Khān Bahadur][2] to confirm itt hearing itt is in his Jaggeer [*jāgir*].

As we desire ye Phirmaund [*farmān*] to be generall I must lett you know how matters stand with us in Bengall and Suratt.

In Bengall we have ye Kings Phirmaund [*farmān*] and Princes Nishaun [*nishān*] with severall Nabobs Perwannas [*parwanās*] for being Custom-free in ye Kingdoms of Bengall, Behar, and Orixa upon paying 3000 rupees per annum Att Hughly into the Kings treasury & for our Settlement att Culcutta; where we desire his Majesty would be pleased to give us leave to erect a mint to Coin Rupees and Moors [*muhrs*] with his Royall Stamp according to ye true matt and weight off those coin'd in his Royall mint off Rajamoll [Rājmahal], which conveniency would very much contribute to ye encrease off that trade. I must also acquaint you that notwithstanding ye Royall Grants abovementioned, we have mett with there off Late years, great abuses and obstructions to our trade, more

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[1] The name is said to mean the village, *ūr*, of the sacred Ati, or Śiva.
[2] (The *wazīr* Mun 'im Khān, see farther on W I).

particularly as to Our Goods that come from Patna, Dacca, Rajamoll [Rājmaḥal], Maulda, Cossimbuzar, & c^a^. Every little Governour having erected all along y^e^ rivers Chowkeys [*chaukis*] who Exort Custom & what they please, & will pay no reverence to y^e^ Royall Authority, In so much that our Goods on y^e^ boates are often coming down 6 or 8 Months, so that we Either loose y^e^ Monsoon to send them on our ships or they are damaged & Rotten before they arrive.

Then att Suratt, The Merchant is unhappy that trades to that port, and this I write from Experience That y^e^ usage in y^e^ Custom-house to most mens persons is so barbarous, becoming slaves rather than Merchants, & no better as to their Goods, where by the Kings order they pay 3½ per Cent according to y^e^ value off the Goods, which they Generally rate 50 per Cent or double y^e^ worth in y^e^ Buzar, and accordingly make up their Custom Account, when in all parts off the world where they act with honour & justice, the Customer that overvalues goods is obliged to take them att that rate, and in all ports that are enriched and flourshing by trade, for encouragement off which they always value Goods 10 per Cent less than their intrinsick value, which encreases y^e^ Customes, by encouraging Merchants to ffrequent the port Then besides, Their dispatches their in their Custom-house are so dilatory, That our Ships often loose their monsoon and Merchants the Sale off their Goods; So hope there may be some way ffound in a Phirmaund [*fārmān*] that these Greivances may be remyded for the Future, which will tend greatly to y^e^ honour off the King & to y^e^ Augmentation off riches in his Country. We have also a Settlement at Vizagapatam where we would much Encrease our trade, iff his Majesty would bestow on us y^e^ blessings off his Encouragement. We have for many years rented there ffourt owns y^e^ ffollowing terms:–

Perwanda & Wooda-poonda	..	Rs. 900 per Annum.
Walteero [Vālteru][1]	..	500
Maulouporam [Mālkapuram]	..	90

ffor which Villages and Vizagapatam [Vīsākhapatnam] together we pay yearly att Chicacull [Shrīkākulamu][2] into the Kings

[1] Commonly called Waltair

[2] Commonly called Chicacole or in the Persian histories, Sīkākul. The name is said to mean the chief residence.

treasury ffour thousand Eight hundred and Sixty two Rupees. The two ffirst Villages for which we pay 900 rupees are att a great distance from Vizagapatam for which reason we are willing to quitt them, so that deducted there will be rupees 3962 which we are willing to pay yearly, iff his Majesty pleases to give us a perpetuall grant thereoff; which will prevent us a great deal off trouble, that we generally meett with from New Officers att their first coming to ye Government. Iff the Great King pleases to give us two or three small towns which Join to ours, we shall always be gratefull for his Royall ffavours.

In the King off Golcundas [Gulkhandah] time for the Encouragement off our Trade we were Custom-ffree throughout his country.

Your Excellency is well acquainted with our paying here 1200 pagodas per Annum which iff his Majesty would please to fforgive in his Phirmaund [*farmān*], itt would be a great encouragement to us in our business, and the only meritt we can plead for so great ffavour is that we yearly import into his Majestys dominions a vast Amount in Treasure and carry away nothing for itt, but ye produce and manufacture off his Country.

We are very Sensible that your Excellency must have been att Charges in our Affairs, which we are ready to pay with all the Gratitude mankind can be capable off; and wish our Ability was Equall to our Inclination to make Suitable returns to ye Great Zeaudy Caun [Ẓiyāu-d-din Khān] for his unparalel'd ffriendship and ffavours, which we shall always endeavour by all means to acknowledge 'more particularly in giving frequent instances off our Duty to Sha Allum [Shāh 'Ālam] whom God preserve and send him a long and happy reign; and that ye Noble and Generous Caun Canna, Caun Behauder [Khān Khānān, Khān Bahādur][1], and our invaluable ffriend Zeaudy Caun [Ziyāu-d-dīn Khān] may be always bless'd with his ffavour and Enjoy health and prosperity.

January 5th 1708. THOMAS PITT.

[1] The *Wazīr* of Bahādur Shāh, usually known by his earlier title of Mun'im Khān

6. Another Letter from Governor Pitt.

To his Excellency Ẓeaudy Caun [Ẓiyāu-d-dīn Khān] Lord High Steward off the Kings Household.

Tis your Noble and Generous mind that has drawn this trouble off our application to you, and as I wrote you in my Last Letter which I deliver'd Aga Makeem [Āqā Muqīm], I now send our Humble petition to the King, and address to ye Grand Vizier Copys off which I here enclose to your Excellency, humbly requesting that you will ffavour us with ye management thereoff.

We are nott ignorant off what should accompany such petitions and Addresses; but the hazzards and troubles in ye way prevent us from performing that part att present, In which I humbly desire your Excellency's advice and direction as to what would be acceptable to his Majesty The Grand Vizier and Such others where you think itt necessary and we shall Endeavour to procure itt iff possible.

Your Excellency will see that we desire a Phirmaund [*farmān*] to confirm our priviledges according to Sallabad [*ṣālābād*][1] in all his dominions, Unless his Majesty shall out off his Royall bounty bestow some new ffavours on us. Your Excellency cannot butt know that Miliapore [Mayilapur][2] is a troublesome neighbourhood to us' creating always disputes and Quarrells[3] little advantageous to ye King nor will itt Ever be more, which could we obtain and ye Town off Trivitore [Tiruvottiyūr], on ye other side off us, itt would make us Easy and encrease ye riches off the Kings' Country.

And Whereas the Goods we import are generally carryed to ye Capitall Citys off Golconda [Gulkhandah] Vizapore [Bijāpūr] & ca. which trade we should much increase, iff there was no Custom paid upon them between this place and

[1] See note on page 329.

[2] Close to St Thomé the traditional scene of the martyrdom of St Thomas on the 21st December, 68 A D 'Mylapur still gives a title to the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese.'

[3] Dāūd Khān's doings at St Thomé in 1701 and 1702, and his block--ade of Madras, can be read at large in J Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (Madras, 1861), Vol I, pp 358-406.

those Citys, and that y^e Mettas [*muttās*][1] about us, which off late years have been encreased were lay'd aside which only ffind Employ for some little people, who destroy trade by their vexation and Extortion, and in y^e main very much Lessen the Kings revenue.

And we humbly desire that you would gett itt inserted in a Phirmaund [*farmān*], that whenever we are so unfortunate as to loose any Ship in any part off his Majestys dominions, That we shall have the liberty to preserve what we can off y^e wreck, without any, molestation from y^e Government, which is nott only a practice throughout y^e world, butt y^e Inhabitants are Generally commanded to assist therein. For itt is a great hardship, That After the Great risque that people have run off their lives, They shall nott be att liberty to save what they can off their Estates.

We must own with great thankfulness that this Justice has been granted us by fformer Perwannas [*parwānas*] from Caun Behauder [Khān Bahādur] and y^e present Nabob; butt itt has been fformerly disputed itt may again, which nothing butt y^e Kings' Gracious Grant can prevent.

We extremely want the Kings blessings and favour to give a new life to our trade; for since your Excellency went hence this place has lost near 3 Leek [*lakhs*] Pagodas by misfortunes, and most by pirates; So that itt is become poor and nothing Can contribute to y^e retreiving our Losses, butt Gods blessings, The Kings ffavours and your Excellencys continuance in assisting.

Here are Ships that in ffew days will depart for Pegu, when shall write y^e King what you advised in your fformer Letter that an Embassadour was coming to him.

Caun Behauder [Khān Bahādur] always show'd himself a ffriend to our nation, whose ffavours we cannot butt retain with great thankfluness, so have wrote him a Letter which comes herewith, and a Copy off itt in your Excellencys, so leave itt to your pleasure whether itt shall be delivered to him.

Iff please God we are so ffortunate as to be bless'd with y^e Kings ffavour, so as to obtain his Royall Phirmaund [*farmān*] We humbly Entreat Your Excellency to appoint an able person

[1] A *muttā* is a subdivision of a district, a revenue estate.

to see itt so fully penn'd as that itt may nott Admit off any dispute from y^e Nabobs and Governours where y^e same is to be Executed. Our Dependence is entirely Upon your Excellencys ffriendship for which we shall be always full off our acknowledgements and heartyly wish Your Excellency and all your ffamily health and prosperity.

August 1708. THOMAS PITT.

7. A LIST OF VILLAGES.

Madras Towns		*Fort St. Davids Towns.*	
Egmore[1] Persiawawh[2] Tandore[3]	Granted by Caun Bucksh [Kām Bakhsh], Assid-Caun [Asad Khān] and Caun Behauder [Khān Bahādur]	Cudalore[9] Carpattecarrear-coopam[10] Cuddecalcoopam[11] Trepopilore[12] Surcalputt[13] Mangeecoopam[14] Bilwarrynaltam[15] Chumundulum[16] Ganganacoopam[17] Witchmere[18] Upalwaddee[19]	Granted by Rama Rauz [Rāma Rāja].
Trivitore[4] Satangadoo[5] Cattewaka[6] Yassalowaudoo[7] Longumbauka[8]	Granted By DoudCaun [Dāūd Khān]		

These 5 Last villages have been reassumed by y^e present Nabob.

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[1] Erambūr, the seven hamlets, a well known residential quarter of Madras.

[2] Purashavākkam, the village of *purashu* trees, now commonly spelt 'Pursewalkum' It lies north of Egmore

[3] Tandaīyārpéttai, the township of Tāndava rāyan. This quarter is on the beach, about a mile and a half north of Fort St. George.

[4] Tiruvottiyūr See note on page 340 above

[5] Shāttangādu, the wood of the god Shāttan, lies about 2½ miles inland and 4 miles NW of Black town.

[6] Kattivākkam, the village of the dam, close to Ennore at the mouth of the Kortaliyar river, north of Madras

[7] Vyasharppādivudu, the village of Vyashan, now commonly spelt 'Veysarpandy', lies north of Perambore.

[8] Numgum bākkam, the village of Numgama, a Telegu *nāyak* of olden days It is now one of the principle European quarters of Madras

[9] Kūdalūr, the town at the junction of the Paravanaur R. and the Guddilam R., Cuddalore.

8. Bombay Instructions.

His Imperiall and most Illustrious Majesty & c[a]. Titles is humbly desired to grant y[e] H. Company off Merchants off England these following Articles off priviledges for their ffree and peaceable Settlement and trade in his Dominions under his Royall Phirmaund [*farmān*].

1. "That the English Company, Their Chief and Councill and All other servants As well English as natives off this Country, that shall reside either att Suratt or any other place off their Settlements in his Majestys Dominions, and all others trading under their permission to be ffree in Every respect to come into and Goe out off the City and places where they shall settle, where, when and in such state as they shall think convenient without hinderence and molestation; and that the officers be fforbidden to use that indecent practice off searching nott used among other nations".

2. "That the H. Company have ffree liberty to Settle ffactorys Either att Suratt, Amadavad [Ahmadābād], Cambay, Broach, Brodera [Barodah][1], Agra, Synda [Sindī][2] or any other place or port in his Majestys dominions: and to have ffree liberty to trade in them, to import, Export, carry up or

[10] Perhaps Karagaravittakkuppam in the third ward of the Cuddalore Municipality

[11] Kudikkādukuppam, the village of the forest-dwellers by the Sea Kudikkādu is 2½ miles SSW of Cuddalore and 1 mile W from the sea, and is in the third ward of the municipality

[12] Tiruppāpuliyur, the holy place of the trumpet flower and the tiger, 3 mile W of Cuddalore and 3 miles from the sea This is now the new town part of Cuddalore where the Collector's house is situated It gives its name to the third division comprising the fourth and fifth wards of the municipality

[13] Sorakalpett in the sixth ward of the municipality

[14] Munjakkuppam, the saffron village by the sea, 3 miles N of Cuddalore and 2 miles W from the sea It gives its name to the fifth division or seventh ward of the municipality

[15] Vilvarryanattam in the seventh or Manjakkuppam ward

[16] Chemmandalam in the same ward The Lutheran Church is in this quarter

[17] Ganganakkuppam is said not to be within the municipal limits

[18] Perhaps Uchimedu, the high ground, 3 miles N.W of Fort St David on the other side of the Panar R

[19] Upalanadi in the seventh ward of the municipality

[1] The form 'Barodrā' or 'Warodrā' is still employed see *Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol II Mr Irvine tells me that it appears on the title-page of a Gujarāti book published there in 1899.

[2] A port on the Indus, near Tatlha.

bring down the Country, buy and sell without hinderance or molestation".

3. "Twas granted by his Majestys Royall Ancestors Shajehaun [Shāh Jahān] and Aurungzeb [Aurangzēb] off blessed memory to y^{e} Hon^{ble}. Company; That they pay no Rhodarage [*rāhdāri*] & c^{a}. Dutys, butt only 2 per Cent Custom on the real cost and sales off their Goods, Merchandize and treasure, the account to be adjusted and paid once a year in Surratt and nott Elsewhere; and the Goods they had once paid Custom for, to pay no more, & in case off any robbery on their Goods The Gov^{r}. or Phowsdars [*faujdārs*] in whose Jurisdiction y^{e} robbery is committed be obliged to make satisfaction for y^{e} Loss, which grants desire may be confirm'd".

4. "By a Grant from y^{e} Emperour Sha Jehaun [Shāh Jahān] off blessed memory to the H. Company, they paid Rupees 2 and $\frac{5}{8}$ and no more custom or duty upon, or for Each Chest or Bale off Indico from their purchase att Agra, or those places where itt is made to their Exportation; which priviledges desire may be confirm'd".

5. "That his Majesty will be pleased to grant. That what Rupees coin'd att Bombay, being off y^{e} same fineness and weight as those off Suratt may be current in his Majestys dominions".

6. "When Goods landed att the Kings Custom-house, they be permitted as they fformerly were, and y^{e} Dutch now are, to be immediately carryed into y^{e} Companys Warehouse, near and over against y^{e} Custom House, The Keys thereoff to be kept by his Majesty Officers, iff they please till y^{e} Goods are cleared, and that y^{e} Company may keep their own Servants or Booges[1] to carry their own Goods from y^{e} boates into y^{e} said Warehouses, the same in y^{e} Exportation for y^{e} Greater Care and Security off them, and that their affairs have as quick as possible on request; and that no Goods or Curiositys be taken away by y^{e} Kings officers, who have liberty as other Merchants to buy what they please in y^{e} Companys Factory".

7. "All persons who are and shall be indebted to y^{e} Company or their Servants or those trading under your license,

[1] Possibly intended for *bojhiya*, a porter, from bojh, a load.

whether for Goods sold, money lent, or otherwise in trade, Iff they will nott adjust and satisfy y^e same amicably that The Governour shall immediately compell and oblige them thereto".

8. "That the Company be att liberty to make choice off, Employ, and hire what Brokers or other servants natives off y^e Country they please, they being willing to serve them, without any Molestation and impediment from y^e Government".

9. "Horses brought to Suratt to be ffree off the Governours mark, and such as the Cheif shall find fitting for his Majestys Service he will send up immediately to his Majesty The others to remain for y^e Companys use as they think fitt".

10. "His Majestys house the Companys people now live in and have from their ffirst Settlement above 120 Years to this time by a grant from his Majestys Royall ancestors paying Rupees ffive hundred Twenty seven and Twenty six pice Annually which being very old and Decaying, insomuch that the reapirs thereoff costing his Majesty as much sometimes more than the rent we pay. His Majesty is humbly petitioned to bestow the same as a gift with what belonging to itt on y^e Hon^ble. Company that they may build a new house upon itt for their Cheif and Councill and others to live in Memory off his Majesty".

11. "To have liberty to build such convenient Warehouses as y^e Company's business shall require, and y^e Bricklayers, Masons, Carpenters, Joiners & other Handy Craft men they hire or Employ be nott molested or taken away by any off the Officers in y^e Government".

12. "The Ground att Swally [Suwālī] granted the Hon^ble. Company by his Majesty's Ancestors for building upon itt such necessary Conveniences to keep their stores for shipping, and goods nott for sale, and those that have paid his Majestys Custom to be lodged there ready for shipping them off as has been always usuall being nearer y^e road and their ships than Suratt is to them; which ground being lost by y^e Sea gaining upon itt His Majesty is desired to grant y^e Company another peice off Ground there, About 20 Vingaes [*bigahs*] for y^e Afforesaid purpose and the same liberty they fformerly had there".

13. "The Peice off Ground granted y^e Company for a Garden, which being taken away for the Kings use by the then Governour off Suratt to build y^e City wall upon, His Majesty

is desired to grant them in Liew off that, another peice off Ground down and be y^e river side About 20 Vingaes [*bihags*] for a Garden & Bunder [*bandar*] for laying Up Ships, Vessells & stores in y^e time off Monsoon".

14. "All provisions off Meats, Wines, Grain, Tobacco for y^e use off the Companys Shipping & Factorys; and all sorts off necessarys off Apparell, wrought plate, and other things for Service & nott for sale; to be ffree off Custom and other Dutys as have Always been Accustomary; and that their boates and Vessells may goe & come from your Bunder [*bandar*] without hinderance".

15. "Should any difference or accident happen between his Majestys Subjects & the English, No officers off y^e City or place shall Assault or Affront the English; butt the said difference or accident shall be examin'd and determined by y^e Gov^r. and y^e Chief and iff the English be in ffault to be punished by y^e Chief, and iff his Majestys Subjects, by y^e Governour: Butt what difference shall happen between y^e English and their own Servants whether English or natives; That the Governour shall nott interfer butt to be decided by y^e Chief".

16. "Should any English desert the Companys Service whether from your Settlements or Ships; and run up y^e Country or otherways Upon the Cheifs application to y^e Governour off the place, that they be delivered up".

17. "That the Emperour Command all his Governours and Ministers whatever, inviolably to keep, and perform y^e ffull purport off the Phirmaund [*farmān*] granted by his Illustrious Majesty".

9. Bengal Instructions.

Instructions For Mr. Jn^o. Surman Chief & c^a. Councill In y^e Negotiation att the Imperial Court off King Furruckseer [*Farrukhsiyar*].

Fort William.
May 13th., 1714.

Gentlemen,

We have dispatched hence under Convoy off 300 Soldiers commanded by Captain Henry Dallibar and the Officers under

him, who are Ensign George Borlace, Ensign John Brown, Sarjeant Peter Dent, Sarjeant Nicholas Row, and Sarjeant Theophilus Gammon, Sundry boates for Patna, laden with Goods and raritys appropriated for presents; Also goods proper for sale & ca. consigned to you for account and risque off the Hon.ble united company of Merchants Off England trading to the East Indies; upon ye arrivall whereof att Patna you are to consider well when and what way you may proceed with most safety, and when you Judge you may with safety, proceed without delay, taking all those Goods with you to ye Mogulls Court, and loosing as little time as conveniently possible in your way.

We have appointed Mr. William Hamilton an Able Surgeon to attend and take care off you in case off sickness or any unsuspected accident. We have also appointed a Trumpeter and Six Soldiers in decent habits to attend and waite on Mr. Surman. The rest off the soldiers and all the Officers are to return to us from Patna.

You will observe we have made two Invoices off the Goods one off which No. 1 is off Goods and raritys appropriated for the present amounting to Rupees One hundred and two thousand ffour hundred Seventy two, Eleven Anaes and ffour pice. The other No. 2 is off Goods & ca. proper for Sale amounting to Rupees One hundred and Eight thousand two hundred fforty Eight, Eleven anaes and three pice, Off which itt is probable you will find itt necessary to add part to the presents and we give you authority to doe so as your discretion shall guide you. Iff part off what is appropriated for presents prove improper for that Service, dispose off that as well as you can, and out off the other parcell putt what you shall Judge fitt instead off itt.

We send a large quantity off wine and other liquors with you. Att C. Seerhaud's [Sarhād's] instigation, who affirm itt will be ye most Acceptable off anything to many off the Cheif Officer att Court, on whose ffavour the Good or ill success off your buisness depends So much off itt as shall be necessary for your table att Court and in your way thither is designed for that service, The rest to be presented to the best advantage you can for ye carrying on off your Affairs. Tis Charged in Invoice

No. 2 Tis scarce needfull to tell you none off itt is designed for Expence att Patna Factory.

You will find a third Invoice Amounting to Rupees Twenty nine thousand, nine hundred ffifty Eight, ffour Anaes; for Cloths and necessarys &c[a] for service, which will be worn out or Expended. This you must bring to y[e] Creditt off Account Current Culcutta, As well as the rest, Charging Durbar [*darbār*] Royall with itt as you Expend itt.

For Managers in this Negotiation we have appointed and Doe appoint M[r] John Surman Chief & Treasurer, Cojah Seerhaud [Sarhād] Second & head Vakile [*vakīl*], M[r] Edward Stephenson third in Councill, Accomptant and Warehouse keeper; M[r] Hugh Barker Secretary who also may be appointed to keep y[e] Accounts off Daily petty Expences.

In case off M[r] Surmans Death (which God avert) we doe appoint that M[r] Stephenson succeed to be Cheif, C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] to continue Second, and M[r] Barker to succeed Third in Councill. For we design an Englishman to be always Chief in this negotiation and that C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] continue to be Second and head Vakile [*vakīl*].

In your way to the Camp Royall, and when arrived there, You are to keep a Generall Diary off all transactions and accidents relating to the Hon.[ble] Companys Affairs or any way influencing them. This may well be in your Consultation Book. We also Expect from each off you & from M[r] Barker Likewise, That you keep particular Diarys off such transactions Accidents and observations off all kinds, whether they relate to our Affairs or no, As Either off you may judge worth notice.

You are to keep up severall Books besides your Consultation Book and Generall Diary—Those most necessary are 1[st]. a Cash Book 2[nd]. A Waste Book in which to be noted every thing delivered out off or received into y[e] Warehouse, immediately att the time when any thing is delivered out or received in, Either for sale or presents, Also for what service, and to whom any thing is delivered. From this you may once a week att Leisure times fframe your Warehouse Books, which must be duely kept up, that you may see att all times what you have remaining in y[e] Warehouse. You must also keep

Generall Books Journall and Leidger into which all your Accounts whatsoever will be brought. There must also be a book particularly for your daily Expences, The Amount whereoff we would have brought to account weekly in Your Generall Books.

The Consultation Book ought and we Expect itt be kept ffair and regular; and that you send us Copys off your Consultations and Diarys Express Everymonth, Also Copy off ye Cash Account; off these, also off your Generall Letters, (in which be full and Clear in giving us an account off the Affair in hand and what prospect you have off coming to a happy Conclusion) send Duplicates by Succeeding Expresses; ffor some may miscarry, and iff you can find means to write us by ye Dawk Chowkey [*dāk chaukī*] miss no opportunity.

Be carefull nott to have any useless contentions among your selves, such as may seem like animositys. For Such, iff any be, will be observed vastly to the Hon.ble Companys prejudice: and occasion long delays, and greater Expence in Every Durbar [*darbār*]; and possibly hazzard the overthrow off our Affairs; and All off you (butt ye Aggressor Expecially) will entirely fforfeit ye Companys ffavour, and ye good opinion we have off your conduct and Capacity.

Be Frugall as decently possible in all manner off Expences. For the Charge will be too great tho' managed with the Utmost ffrugality. Therefore all manner off unnecessary Expences are to be avoided.

When any Grant is obtained gett att least a dozen Copys attested by ye Cozzee [*qāẓī*] off which send one to Bombay and one to Fort St George. The Originall and other Copys you are to send to us by sundry conveyances.

Iff you receive orders or directions from His Excellency the Generall and Councill off Bombay Or from the Honble President and Councill att Fort St George, relating to any priviledges or new grants Either or both may desire for their Governments; or to ye confirming or Enlarging any priviledge they doe enjoy or have fformerly Enjoy'd Conform and Comply as near as possible with ye orders you shall receive from them.

Immediately upon your arrivall att ye Camp Royall and when you are in ye way iff you find itt may be, send expresses

to Bombay and to Fort S^t George, acquainting y^e Gentlemen att both places that we have ordered you to be very Exact in your Compliance with all such orders as you shall receive from them, relating to y^e confirming or Enlarging their priviledges, or for y^e Obtaining any new Grants or priviledges which they may desire: and send them Copys off that part off those instructions which relate to their Jurisdiction—

C. Seerhaud is perfectly acquainted with y^e manner off addresses to y^e King and his Cheif Ministers, his Experience has been well proved. We therefore depend on your prudence joined to his Experience in that matter, which we judge is better than lame endeavour to give particular instructions would be concerning ceremonys which we are nott so well acquainted with as he is and you all may soon be.

We doe nott suppose any off you enclined to Employ Durgamull [Durgāmal] the late Vakile [*vakīl*] att Patna, he has been ffalse to us Already, Therefore iff any person recommends him as a fitt man for your Service, have no regard to such recommendation; for we will nott have him Employ'd in y^e Companys Affairs upon any pretence whatsoever.

We order that M^r Barker Your Secretary sitt att y^e Councill Table with you when you are in consultation, and that he take minutes off what passes, Also that he attest C. Seerhauds [Sarhād's] Assent or dissent to any vote Agreed on For because C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] cannot read English he will nott sign your Consultations.

You are to resolve in consultation after mature deliberation how to proceed in Your Affairs, and Your proceedings must be agreeable with your resolutions in consultation—nevertheless.

Some particular cases may happen nott fforeseen when you sett in Councill, and require to be dispatched before you can meett. Iff sometimes such a case happens, when C. Seerhaud [Sarhād] is from you at y^e Durbar, and iff time and money can be saved by y^e Quick dispatch off an Affair off Consequence, which iff delay'd might happen to miscarry; We say in Such Cases and in Such alone, you may Allow off his acting before a resolution in Consultation: Butt he must give you an Account off itt att your next meeting and you must note itt in your consultation as transacted by him alone.

Iff anything that we may accidentally fforgett to give you particular directions about in these instructions shall occur to Either off you (or be hinted to you by any other person) which may prove beneficiall to y[e] Companys Affairs, and be obtained without more cost than the benefitt will amount to; Make use off your opportunitys to gett the Grant, nott waiting in such Cases for ffresh orders from us. For delays are dangerous, and lost opportunitys are nott Easyly retreived.

You are nott on any Account whatsoever to take the Goods off Merchants under your protection from Patna to y[e] Mogulls Court. We prohibitt this, fearing pretences may be made, that you have Goods under your protection, which doe nott belong to you; and Upon that Account you be Stop'd long and made pay severely att Some places as others have already been serv'd.

We send with you 47 bales off Bengall piece Goods for sale, the produce whereoff is design'd for part off what you shall want in ready money to carry on your business. Keep a particular & Exact Account off the Carriage and all Charges on them and send us that Account because by agreement we are to pay here what they shall produce clear off all Charges. We accepted off this proposall because itt saves the Exchange off so much and does not encrease the Companys Risq. A particular Invoice off these Goods is N[o] 4. The Merchants we have them from allow you to draw 5 per cent commission on their produce, whereoff 2 per Cent for M[r] Surman 2 per Cent for C. Seerhaud [Sarhād]. and 1 per Cent for M[r] Stephenson. 5,000 rupees Hoss[a]. We send you in y[e] hands off M[r]. Stephenson, out off which he is allowed to disburse, what shall be necessary on y[e] way, which he is to account for with you, and pay y[e] rest into y[e] Companys Cash in M[r]. Surmans hands for your service As you proceed from Patna.

Before you can be able to depart from Patna, we shall send you Letters off Creditt to ffurnish you with what money shall be needfull for carrying on your negotiation att the Kings Durbars [*darbārs*].

The ffollowing list is off Originall papers relating to our ancient priviledges in Bengall, which we send you in C. Seerhauds [Sarhād's] hands, he affairming itt will be necessary they be

ıown att Court, to prove we had grants off those priviledges, hich can be done no otherways, because Old Assid Caun Asad Khān] (in a passion when his son Zulphacor Caun[1] [Zū-īqār Khān] was Slain), burnt all yē records off the kingdom, hich he had ye keeping off att thatt time. Be carefull none f those papers are Lost, and bring all back to us when itt eases God you return, which God grant you may in good ne with Safety and Success.

Delivered Coja Seerhaud [Sarhād]—Vizt

2 Phirmaunds [*farmāns*] off Aurungzebe [Aurangzeb] 1 Granted 1680 ye other 1691

Mahumud Azzeemā Nishaun [Muhammad 'Azam's *nishān*] 1678

Sultan Sugas [Shujā] Nishaun [*nishān*] 1655

Ibrihim Caun [Ibrahīm Khān] and Kiffort Cauns [Kifāyat Khān] Perwanna [*parwana*] 1690

Izzutt Cauns ['Izzat Khān] perwanna [*parwāna*] 1698

Mazeem Cauns [Mu 'azzam Khān's] do 1661

Doud Cauns [Dāūd Khān] do 1663

Mahumud Azzeems Nishaun [Muḥammad 'Aẓīm's *nishān*] 1698

Huckecutt Cauns perwanna [Haqīqat Khān's *parwana*] 1665

Copy off Aurungzebes phirmaund [Aurangzeb's *farman*]

Two off Shaastah perwannas [Shāistah Khān's *parwānas*] 1—1664/5 & 1—1680

Copys off Shajehauns [Shāh Jāhānis] two phirmaunds [*farmāns*] 1—1638 & 1—1649

Mirza Megeis [Mirzā Ma'jiz] perwanna [*parwana*] 1679

Two off Izzut Cauns perwannas ['Izzat Khān's *parwanas*] one 1697 ye other 1698

Seerbalund Cauns [Sarbuland Khān] perwanna [*parwana*] 1709

Caun Jehaun Behauders Sunnod [Khān Jahan Bahadur's *sanad*] 1711/2

A Calculation off what Servants wages to attend Mr. ırman &ca. Englishmen may amount to monthly; in which e doe nott pretend to be perfectly Exact, for itt must in a eat measure be left to your discretion, because tis nott possible e can know Every thing that will be absolutely necessary r you, and we may as well over as under Calculate ye Charge. his therefore is nott to be taken as a stated allowance butt guess off what the Charge may amount to. Where you find e have reckon'd upon more servants than will be needfull, on greater wages for them than you must off necessity give, u are to correct ye mistakes off this, and iff we have reckon'd on a ffew less off any kind than you ffind absolutely necessary keep, yôu are nott limitted by this, butt may add so many you ffind you cannot decently be without.

[1] Zū-l-fiqār Khān was killed by Farrukhsīyar's order on February 1, 13.

			r	r
Kismutgar [*khidmatgars*]	6	att	7	42
Chubdars [*chobdars*]	2	..	8	16
Cosburdars [*khāsbardars*]	12			
Dolletts [*dhalaits*][1]	16			
Buxerys [*baksaris*]	16			
Frosts [*farrash*]	3			
Suckas [*saqqahs*][2]	2	87 att	8	696
Cooks	2			
Flag-Carriers	2			
Cohars [*kahars*]	24			
Camel-keepers	10			
Mussalchys [*mash 'alchis*]	5			
Horsekeepers	14			
Holocore [*halal-khor*]	1	22 att	7	154
Barber	1			
Washerman	1			
Under Vakiles [*vakils*]	2			200
Banians	2			80
Tajudy [Tāju-d-dīn][3] Our Aukoones [*ākhund's*] Son, sent hence to be a Persian writer. He speaks and writes English				20
James Gaywood—Watchmaker				30
Trumpeter				10
Six English Soldiers in Decent habitts paid in Culcutta				60

The stated Allowance for C. Seerhaud [*Sarhad*]

			r		
Horse keepers & Grass-cutters	4	@	7	28	
Cohars [*kahārs*]	12				
Chubdars [*chobdars*]	2				
Kismutgars [*khidmatgars*]	6	42 att	8	336	
Peons	20				
Cooks	2				
Mussalchys [*mash 'alchis*]		2 ..	7	14	
Frosts [*farrash*]		2 ..	8	16	394 - -
Allowance for his Dyett				250	
do for Horsekeeping				90	
do Camell do				120	460 - -
				Rs.	854 - -

[1] *Dhalait*, an armed guard.

[2] A water-carrier, vulgarly known as a *bihishtī*.

[3] Mr Irvine suggests that Tāju-d-dīn may be identified with Tāju-d-dīn, the son of Shihā-bud-dīn, Tālish, author of the *Fathīyah-i-'ibratīyah*, on the campaign of Mīr Jumlah in Assam, whose son I'tisāmu-d-dīn went to Europe in 1765 with Captain Archibald Swinton and wrote his travels under the title of *Shigurfnāmah-i-wilāyat*. But the father of our Tāju-d-dīn was named Fazl Muhammad, See *English in Bengal*, I, 300.

Thus far in Generall, we come in y^e^ Second place to direct what we desire may be granted us in a new phirmaund [*farmān*].

Our first request is in Generall terms, That his Majesty will please to confirm in his Royall Phirmaund [*farmān*] all the Grants and priviledges heretofore Enjoy'd by our Nation, att all places in his dominions, where we now have or fformerly had Settlements, Especially those granted us in the days off his Royall ancestor Aurungzebe [Aurangzeb], and since, this Generall request is already Granted us in Effect, In y^e^ Husbul Hoocum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukum*] Last received under y^e^ Grand Viziers seal, which takes off y^e^ difficulty once apprehended off getting y^e^ same ffavour in a New Phirmaund [*farmān*].

Tho' this request be generall and includes all places under y^e^ Government off Bombay and Fort S^t^. George as well as this Presidency itt must be repeated and requested for Each particularly.

First for Bengall

That you may know what to ask for, Tis necessary you be well inform'd what our priviledges are and on what terms we enjoy them.

Instead off Custom we pay a yearly peeshcash [*peshkash*] off three thousand Sicca Rupees into the Kings treasury att Hugly, and we pay no Other Custom or duty on any Goods or merchandize which we import or Export, Nor on treasure Coined for us att y^e^ Kings mint which was att Rajamoll [Rāj-mahal] butt is now removed to Muxadavad [Maqsūdābād].

Our Goods or treasure which we send to our settlements or any off the Aurungs [*aurangs*] inland, pass on our Own Dustick [*dastak*] without Examination and back to us in y^e^ same manner.

Our Merchants Factors or Agents whom we employ att the Aurangs [*aurangs*] as Elsewhere are nott to be molested or called to account by small officers upon ffrivilous pretences, whilst they continue in our Service and are Employed for us.

Iff our Factors or Merchants Endeavour to defraud us the remedy is in our Own hands, we take them up and use such meanes as are proper and necessary to make them pay what they justly owe us.

Convenient places and parcells off Ground were granted us to build and settle Factorys on, Att, or near Severall inland places off Note As Hugly, Cossimbuzar, Patna, Dacca, Maulda, Rajamoll [Rājmahal], Ballasore, Radnagur &ca. which we still keep possession off & may settle ffactorys again att, After th King is pleased to confirm all to us in his Royall Phirmaund [*farmān*].

We hold and Enjoy three towns namely,—De [*ḍihī*] Culcutta, Sootaloota [Sūtānuṭī], & Govindpore [Govindpur], paying y^e same yearly rent for them into the Kings treasury, which the Jemindars [*zamīndārs*] paid before they were granted to the English Company. The Grant was made att Bordwan (anno 1698) in a Nishaun [*nishān*] from Sultan Mahumud Azzeem [Muhammad 'Azimu-sh-shān], ffather off his present Majesty King Furruckseer [Farrukhsīyar] whom God preserve, What we desire more for Bengall is That we may have y^e use off the Kings mint Custom ffree att Muxodavad [Maqsūdābād] and Dacca as we had itt att Rajamoll [Rājmahal], & the same ffree use off y^e mint att Patna Also iff itt may be obtained. We also desire our bounds round us att this place may be enlarged The additions we desire will amount to Eight thousand Sicca Rupees Yearly rent and something more, which added to near thirteen hundred Sicca Rupees which we pay yearly rent for the three towns, will make About Nine thousand ffour hundred Sicca Rupees per Annum: which we desire we may be appointed to pay in one Summ Yearly into the Kings treasury att some certain place, and that we may nott be called upon for itt before y^e Day off payment by any Suba Duan [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] or Collector off revenues whatsoever.

That you may perfectly understand what additions we desire may be made to our present bounds, and be well understood when you petition for them we herewith send you a list off the towns we now possess and off those we desire may be added to us, with y^e rent paid y^e for same by y^e Jemidars [*zamīndārs*] into y^e Kings treasury, and we have hopes they will be granted to us, because we shall be punctuall in paying our rent on y^e Day, and att the place appointed, which Jemidars [*zamīndārs*] are nott Always.

Itt would be a good Advantage to the Companys Affairs iff the King may be prevailed with to order that Rupees Coined att Madrass may pass in payments off his revenues in Bengall. Endeavour att getting such an order, which we hope may be granted, because Madrass Rupees have y^{e} Kings Stamp as well as Bengall Rupees and are ffull as valueable. For they are off Equall weight and ffineness with them and will always be made so.

Secondly for Bombay

That y^{e} King will be pleased to confirm all y^{e} Grants and priviledges enjoy'd by y^{e} English nation att Suratt.

The Generall and Councill att Bombay sent a particular account hither (some time in Sha Allums[Shah 'Alam's] reign) off what grants and priviledges they then desired might be obtained for them; which is the best directions we can give concerning their Affairs. We therefore send you a Copy off itt without altering one word.

Their fifth head is that the King will please to grant that Rupees Coined att Bombay, being off the same weight and ffineness as those off Suratt, may be Currant in his Majestys dominions. (We judge itt might be well to add) and that they may pass in payments off his Majestys revenues att Suratt.

Iff his Majesty will be pleased in Liew off Custom to accept off a moderate yearly peeshcash [*peshkash*] att Suratt (Rupees three thousand is the least summ to be proposed and five thousand the highest we can give you authority to propose for that yearly peeshcash [*peshkash*]) and order that the English may land or ship off their Goods without being any way molested or called to Account by y^{e} Custom house officers or Any others, itt would be a noble grant and worth y^{e} Expence off some money. We would have you attempt y^{e} getting itt, butt iff you find the high officers averse to granting itt, doe nott persist in your endeavours to obtain itt, For 'tis probable some off them will become enemys and oppose every thing we desire, iff we persist obstinately in desiring what they resolve shall nott be granted us.

Iff the English Company may nott be allowed to trade Custom ffree att Suratt, Itt may be necessary to gett two phirmaunds [*farmāns*]: One for Suratt where Custom is paid; The other for y[e] presidencys off Madrass and Bengall where we pay no Custom. But this we leave to your own consideration. Doe as you judge will be best for us.

THIRDLY FOR FORT ST GEORGE

In a Letter for you from y[e] Hon[ble] President and Councill att Fort S[t]. George, which came to our hands y[e] 9[th] Currant att night and we send you with this, you have so ffull and Clear instructions about their Affairs, that we doe nott see much can be added to any purpose on that head. We enjoin you to be very sollicitous in your endeavour to obtain Every thing they desire All which seems very reasonable and we have hopes may be obtained without much difficulty or trouble.

The following list is off papers received from Fort S[t]. George which we believe may be off Good use and therefore send them to you with this.

No. 2. Copy off what wrote by Ship *President* to Bengall under y[e] 23rd. October 1711 accompanying y[e] Severall papers then sent down.

No. 3. Packett directed to M[r]. Jn[o] Surman &c[a]. Gent[n]. intended to accompany the Hon[ble] Companys present to y[e] Mogull.

No. 5. Copy off a Letter wrote by Gov. Pitt to Zeaudy Caun [Ẓiāu-d-dīn Khān] August 1708.

No. 6. Copy off Olympanas ['Ālam-panāh][1] Phirmaund [*farmān*] and Cowl [*āaul*] to Sir W[m]. Langorn February 23[rd] 1676.

No. 7. Copy off a perwanna [*parwāna*] from Nabob Assid Caun [Asad Khān] to Governour Yale.

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[1] ["World-protection," *i e*, the ruler of a country, probably meant (from the date, 1676) or the then King of Gūlkhandat, see *ante* p. 257. W.I.]

No. 8. Copy off a Dustick [*dastāk*] from d°. March 18 169½.

No. 9. Copy off Prince Caum Bucksh [Kām Bakhsh] Nishaun [*nishān*] to Governour Yale.

No. 10. Copy off the King off Golcondahs General Phirmaund [*farmān*] to the English nation Dec^r. 19^th 1674.

No. 11. Copy off Yecknam Cauns [Ikram Khān's] Cowl [*qaul*] to S^r. W^m Langorn February 23^rd—167½.

No. 12. Copy off a Cowl [*qaul*] given by Moosa Caun [Mūsa Khān] to S^r W^m Langorn—April 13^th—1672.

No. 13. Copy off Cowl [*qaul*] given by Serango Royallo [Śrī Ranga Rāya] to Agent Ivie—November 16^th—1643.

No. 14. Copy off a Letter wrote by Governour Pitt to Zeaudy Caun [Ziāu-d-dīn-Khān]—January 1708/9.

Wishing you Good Success in this negotiation We committ you to y^e protection off the Almighty God and remain.

Your Loving Friends
R. Hedges
A. Addams
S Feake
J. Williamson
E. Page
S. Browne
J. Dean
H. Ffrankland

10. List of Calcutta Villages.

Calcutta Ground and Towns.

On the opposite Shore	Towns	Pergunnaes						
	Salica[1] ..	Borou ..	61	11	-			
		Paican ..	216	-	3			
						277	11	3
	Haurah[2] ..	Borou ..	237	5	4			
		Paican ..	145	13	5			
						383	2	9
	Cassundeat[3] ..	Borou ..	129	14	4			
		Paican ..	8	7	-			
						138	5	4
	Ramkissenna Pore[4] ..	Borou ..	89	3	8			
		Paican ..	80	11	-			
						169	14	8
	Batter[5] ..	Borou ..	351	13	-			
		Paican ..	229	1	9			
						580	14	9

[1] Salikha
[2] Haurah
[3] Kāsundīyah.
[4] Ramkṛishnapur.
[5] Betor

On the Culcutta Side	Dacknypauk parra[1] .	Ameeravad ..		145 2 -
	Belgassiah[2] ..	Culcutta ..	304 6 9	
		Paican ..	13 10 -	
				318 - 9
	Dacknydand[3] ..	Culcutta ..	37 8 9	
		Paican .	12 - 3	
		Ameeravad ..	376 - -	
				425 9 -
	Hogulcundy[4] .	Paican ..		137 11 3
	Ultadang[5] ..	Culcutta ..	194 1 6	
		Paican ..	120 12 9	
				314 14 3
	Simliah[6] .	Manpore ..		81 15 5
	Macond[7] .	do ..		118 12 8
	Comerparra[8] ..	Culcutta ..		63 10 -
	Cancergassiah[9] ..	Paican ..	37 7 -	
		Nodiah ..	170 15 8	
				208 6 8

Transported .. 3364 2 6

[1] Dakshini Pāikpāḍā.
[2] Belgāchhiya
[3] Dakshinidanḍī.
[4] Hogulkunḍia.
[5] Ultādāngā.
[6] Simlā
[7] Mākonda.
[8] Kāmārpāḍā
[9] Kankurgāchhi.

On the Culcutta Side Towns	Pergunnaes								
	Brought forward						3364	2	6
Bagmarey[1]	Culcutta				49	7	8		
Arcooley[2]	Manpore				22	11	9		
Mirzapore[3]	Culcutta	57	15	9					
	Paican	115	13	9					
					173	13	6		
Scaldo[4]	Culcutta				118	9	10		
Cooliah[5]	Culcutta	127	6	8					
	Paican	445	3	9					
					572	10	5		
Tangarah[6]	Culcutta	62	11	6					
	Paican	166	1	9					
					228	13	3		
Sundah[7]	Culcutta	62	-	4					
	Paican	586	8	11					
					648	9	3		
Bad-sundah[8]	Culcutta				40	8	0		
Shehparra[9]	Do.				41	6	6		
Doland[10]	Culcutta	111	6	8					
	Paican	195	1	0					
					306	7	8		

[1] Bāgmāri.
[2] Arkūli
[3] Mirzāpur
[4] Siāldaha.
[5] Kulia
[6] Ṭangrā.
[7] Sunḍā
[8] Bad Sunḍā, *Bad* or *Baha* outside.
[9] Sekhpads.
[10] Dalandā.

Bergey[1]	Culcutta	22 6 2	
	Paican	213 10 1	
	Nodiah	1 14 –	
	Ameeravad	45 15 2	
			283 13 5
Siltala[2]	Culcutta	31 11 –	
	Paican	175 3 5	
			206 14 5
Topsiah[3]	Culcutta	78 8 –	
	Paican	21 0 9	
			29 0 9
Sangassey[4]	Culcutta		21 3 0
Chobogah[5]	do		– 14 0
Cherangey[6]	Culcutta	14 13 5	
	Paican	74 14 0	
			89 11 0
Colimba[7]	Culcutta	270 3 3	
	Paican	113 4 10	
			383 8 1
		Transported ..	7071 – 7

[1] Birji.
[2] Ṭālṭalā.
[3] Tapsiā.
[4] Sāpgāchhi.
[5] Chobagah.
[6] Chaurangi.
[7] Kalinga.

On the Culcutta Side	Towns	Pergunnaes			
		Brought forward ..			7071 - 7
	Goberah[1] ..	Paican ..		100 1 6	
	Baddockneydand[2] ..	Paican ..		125 8 4	
	Sillampore[3] ..	Culcutta ..	11 7 3		
		Paican ..	95 3 7		
		Ameeravad ..	20 8 -		
				127 2 10	
	Jola Columba[4] ..	Culcutta ..		114 3 8	
	Geredalparra[5] ..	Culcutta ..	31 9 2		
		Paican ..	70 4 4		
				101 13 6	
	Hintalee[6] ..	Culcutta ..	61 9 10		
		Paican ..	167 8 8		
				229 2 6	
	Chitpore[7] ..	Ameeravad ..		252 8 -	
					1050 8 4
					8121 8 11

[1] Gobrā.
[2] Bad Dakshini Dandi.
[3] Srirāmpore.
[4] Jolā Kalinga.
[5] Gondalpāḍa.
[6] Iṭalī
[7] Chitpur.

We have already	Sootaloota[1]	.. Ameeravad ..		501 15 3	
	De Culcutta[2]	.. do ..		468 9 6	
	Govindpore[3]	.. Paican ..	210 9 –		
		Culcutta ..	100 5 –		
				310 14 –	
					1281 6 9
				Rs.	9402 15 1

NOTE—Govindpore-Paican—the rent butt	..	123 15 9
Yearly Mistake	..	86 8 3
		210 9 –

This is what ground we desire about Culcutta may be granted to us in A New Phirmaund [*farmān*].

R. Hedges	A. Addams
S. Feake	J. Williamson
E. Page	S. Brown
J. Deane	H. Frankland

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[1] Suṭānūṭi
[2] Dihi Kalikātā.
[3] Govindpur

APPENDIX

II.

The Purport of Sir William Norris's Embassy to Allumgeer[1]

The Earnest Petition off Sir Nicholas Waite Generall off India and Councill for y^e new Companys Affairs with Rustum—Back Vakile[2]

Articles in the Petition	Remarks from Y^e Duanny[3].
1. That Sir William Norris sent by, and having brought a Letter and present from y^e King off England, After his admittance to y^e presence, A Letter and Cunger [*khanjar*] gone to y^e King off England, and the new Company that came with him According to his Majestys order had marked out places both in y^e City and Country We hope that we may obtain a phirmaund [*farmān*] for Bengall, Suratt and Metchlipatam [Masulipatam] with other places hereafter mentioned, receiving no molestation. We will on such conditions pay 100,000 Rs. into y^e Suratt Treasury Farther—That we Servants being newly come hither from our Own Country, are unacquainted with what ffavours have been conferred on Europeans; Wherefore we hope iff there is any	

[1] 'Ālamgīr
[2] Rustam Beg *wakil*.
[3] Dīwānī

Articles in the Petition	Remarks from Ye Duanny.
thing omitted in our petition itt may be specify'd in Our phirmaund [*farmān*]. That ye Mutsuddys [*mutasaddīs*] may act accordingly.	
2. William King off England has Established a new Company, whose people are Sent into Suratt, Bengall, Metchlipatam [Masulipatam] and other Subaships We hope his Majesty will order ye New Company [id est their Merchants] may settle Factory both in Citys and ports all over the Kingdom, & that their Gomastoes [*gumāshtāhs*] goe & Come to buy & sell goods without any molestation.	In Suratt & Bengall from ye time off Jehaungeer, Sha-Jehaun [Jahāngīr, Shāh Jāhan] and all presnt The English Dutch & French have had settlements, Butt ye Account off them is nott here. That, for ye Europeans in Madrass, they obtained a phirmaund [*farmān*] according to ye sunnod [*sanād*] off Abool Hossen [Abū-l-Hasan][1].
3. When houses or ground for Factorys within ye City are hired That the owners may be fforbid to raise rent after any reparations or building thereon & Lett them to other people, making any disputes.	They fformerly obtained a phirmaund [*farmān*]. An Account off which is nott to be found According to ye earnest petition off the new Company Dainot Caun [Diyānat Khān] took care that they should nott be molested.
4. That 20 beagues [*bīgahs*] off Ground may be given without ye City for interment off the Dead.	They had fformerly a Phirmaund [*farmān*] on this Account Copy off which is nott to be found.
5. That Goods brought on ye old English Companys and	They formerly obtained a phirmaund [*farmān*] butt ye

[1] The Quṭb Shāhī King of Golconda who came to the throne in 1672.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM Yᴱ DUANNY
Dutch ships, was putt in a Godown apart, and the Keys lodged in ye hands off the Custom-house Mutsuddys [*muta-saddis*] till ye Custom was paid. We having now rented ye houses off Mahumud Zad [Muhammad Zāhid] and Others, In which places are sett apart for Godowns, hope that our Goods may be brought Hither, and the Keys remain in ye Accustomary Officers hands, by which ye rent will be saved and the Goods Look'd After.	Copy is nott to be found.
6. In Suratt The Ground that is without ye City on ye Banks off the River Tupty [Tapti], belonging to Abdell Suffa ['Abdu-s-safa] Dutch Merchant butt formerly the Kings is now empty we desire we may have itt for a Garden and to lay up our Ships Stores.	That in ye 31st. year[1] ye Old Company petitioned that they had made a Garden without ye City, which was taken away by ye walling in off the City & on which 2200. rs. had been Expended. His Majesty ordered that Summ should be cutt out off ye Customes. By which we judge they had a Garden.
7. In Swally on the banks off the river The Old English Company, Dutch and French Enjoy'd places to lay up their Ships necessary. That one part	That the French Ever enjoy'd this formerly no account is to be found. Butt that Dainot Caun [Diyānat Khān[2]] had granted to ye

[1] The thirty-first year of 'Alamgir, 1687-8

[2] Mr. Irvine says that Mir Abdul Qadir Khwāfi, Diyānat Khān, was made *diwan* of the Dakhin in the 34th year of 'Ālamgir, 1101-2 H., or 1690-1 A.D. He succeeded his elder brother, Āmānat Khān as Governor of the port of Surat in the 43rd year of 'Ālamgir, 1110-11 H., or 1698-99 A.D. He died about 1126-27 H., or 1714-15 A.D. See *Mā'āṣiru-l-umarā*, II, 59.

which fformerly belonged to ye Dutch butt now Empty may be granted us.

new Compa ye same priviledges that had been given to Others Europeans.

8. That the Chief, Council, and other Servants whether man or Women may have ffree Egrees and regress Either to ye Gardens Swally (Suwālī), or Even to their own Country, nott being molested by ye officers, and that the Chief &ca may not be Examined by ye Meabar[1] or Other Chowkeys [*chaukis*], which is a great derogation to their honour.

In the 31st. year according to the Old Companys petition The phirmaund [*farmān*] specifyd that they should nott be molested, and in ye 33rd Year According to ye former phirmaund [*farmān*].

9. Whatsoever Goods are brought from City or port to Suratt, and Cambaya[2] or whatever is Bought in other Subaships, & loaded on Ships for Europe or sold, That according to ye Accounts off buying and selling from ye Factorys-Gomastoes [*gumāshtahs*] in Suratt Custom be calculated att 2 per cent After ye old Companys phirmaund [*farmān*] in ye 6th year, & Farther—that the buying in Baroche [Bharōch] and other places may nott be a second time Charged.

The Custom that is taken from ye English Company is 3½ per cent. Whatsoever was formerly Excused, was again taken by ye laying on Jidgea [*jizyah*].

	r
Dellolly [*dalālī*]	1
Other charges	8
	1 8

[1] The *ma'bar*, the ferry.

[2] Written Kanbayat by the Muḥammadans, but said originally to be Khambavati The ancient port of Gujarāt.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
	In ye 29th off Zilcaud [Ẓūlqa'dah][1] in ye 46th Year A perwanna [*parwāna*] went to Etbar Caun [I'tibār Khān] that for ye Europeans & Armenians he take according to ye law 2 for 40 (5 per 100) iff he ffinds itt nott troublesome to be done. To which he answer'd that according to order he took itt from ye Armenians, butt for ye English he would referr itt till a proper opportunity.
10. The Cloth or other Goods that is brought from Europe to Suratt and Cambaya, after the officers have taken an account off itt, That itt may be sent home to be sold, and in case there is no sale, that with a Ruanna [*rawanah*] (an account off ye Custom given) signed by an Officer itt be carried to other Subaships, and That when ye year is Expired Custom is taken butt in one place after ye manner off the Old English and Dutch Company and ye Ruanna [*rawanah*] given. And iff we want to relade such Goods, That [there] be no molestation on Account off a Second Custom—	There was fformerly a Phirmaund [*farmān*] given to ye Old English Company Copy off which is nott to be found. In ye 33rd Year After they had been pardoned The Old English Companys Phirmaund [*farmān*] is Enrolled, wherein Custom is to be paid After ye year is Expired.

[1] Tuesday, 5th April, 1702.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
11. Whatsoever Goods are bought in Agra and other places, and brought to Surrat or Cambaya, having paid Custom, and are loaded on Board Ship, Iff the Ship is too deep and The Goods taken out and Laded on another, going away: That ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] doe nott dispute about Custom or other Charges.	There is nott any Account in ye Books. What is ordered ?
12. Whatever Ships arrive from Europe and other places and the Commodities are nott Adapted to this Country markett, Iff said Ships repair and ye Goods are taken out att Swally, after which being again laden on those or any other ships, That ye Droga [*dāroghah*] off Swally for taking out said Goods doe nott molest them on Account off Custom or any other Charges By reason this has been ye Custom off the Old English French and Dutch Company.	A Copy off the phirmaund [*farmān*] wherein they had such a grant is nott to be found—What is ordered ?
13. Whatsoever Horses, Guns, Anchors or Lead are brought from Europe, Persia, or Other places, The Kings Officers clap seals on ye Horses neck, Whatsoever is ffitt for the Government that they buy them ffairly and pay ye money without delay, and that what is nott fitt for that service be nott	There is phirmaund [*farmān*] on this account enrolled That horses and other Goods that are ffitt for ye Service be bought according to ye Current price, and that the money be immediately paid, and for ye remainder to be permitted to be disposed off any other way.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
hindered from being disposed off in other places And for ye sake off buying rarities that they doe nott stand to pick, butt take all with ye owners consent.	
14. Whatsoever Gold, Silver, or Copper is brought from England and other places, That ye Companys Gomastoes [*gumāshtahs*] Stamp Siccas in ye mint, The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] taking nothing , nor molesting them.	In ye 33rd year ye old English Company petitioned That they could nott Creditt ye Bankers, on which they desired that their own people might make Siccas in ye mint which was granted.
15. Whatever Cloth or other Merchandize is carried between any part off the Country Or port That ye phowsdar [*faujdār*] off the road give a safe conduct to ye end 'off his jurisdiction. Iff there is any occasion for Carriage that they look out for itt & Iff any Goods are Stole, That he answer for itt.	In ye 33rd. year a phirmaund Granted to ye English is Enrolled—That whatever is Lost in this way That ye phowsdar [*faujdār*] answer for itt. Itt is Granted that whatever is Granted to other people be allow'd them Likewise—Butt for ye Carriage no Copy to be found.
16. Whatever provisions Clothes or plate Copper or Ornaments, belonging to ye people off the place or shipping, may be brought and carried away without any, molestation from ye Meabar[1] or Customhouse Officers Account Custom, That whatever packett goes to or Comes from Europe be nott open'd.	Formerly in ye 33rd year according to ye petition off ye, Old Company itt was ordered That itt should be as Customary—and for ye Account off papers ordered That Etmaund Caun [I'tmād Khān] Consider itt..

[1] *Ma'bar*, the ferry

17. That ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] off the Port be ordered, In case any off ye Companys Servants run from their Factory or ships That they be apprehended and delivered to ye Chief That All contractors and Merchants Making any boggle in fulfilling their Agreement be punished and nott encouraged, and That what Ships goe to any Port whether Persia Arabia & ca freighted with ye Persons or Goods off Merchants be nott impeded.

In ye 33rd Year according to ye Old English petition itt was ordered That iff they have demands from any one, itt be fulfill'd. In a Phirmaund [*farmān*] in ye 5th Year, ye Dutch obtain'd That in ffreighting Ships there be no hinderance.

18. That whomsoever the New Companys Consull shall appoint as Brokers, and putt him in business That no one offer to hinder itt. Iff the Mutsudays [*mutaṣaddīs*] have anything to say that they apply to ye Consul, and without his Consent nott to meddle in ye Companys or any off their people's business.

In ye 5th year ye phirmaund [*farmān*] granted ye Dutch contains this affair.

19. Iff any Quarrell should happen among ye Company's people, That ye Consul finish ye dispute according to ye Instructions off the King his Masters, and That ye phowsdar [*faujdār*] & Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] acquiesce in itt and Assist; That they only give Creditt to ye Consul, and nott any other

Copy off a Phirmaund [*farmān*] off ye 12th year Shajehaun [Shāh Jahan] under Cozzy Mahumud Syuds [Qāzi Muhammad Sayyad's] Seal has been examined in ye Books. Itt is wrote that whenever the Dutch quarrel among themselves, that they themselves take care off itt.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
people who may turn informers. Iff in contracts or buying and selling there happens Any dispute with ye Inhabitants off the place, that ye Consull make an End, and whereever The ffault is that itt be punished, The Englishman being delivered up to ye Consul for that purpose and ye other to ye Governments Officers.	
20. The king for the sake off his ffrienship to ye King off India & for ye Good off the inhabitants off Both kingdoms has constituted a new Company, giving Sunnods [*sanads*] to three presidents under The Great Seal—Vizt. In Suratt Bengall and Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] (call'd Generall Consults & ca). Iff itt happens they are displaced and others appointed in their Roomes, The posts be nott quite laid aside on account off such alterations.	The above is humbly Offer'd Whatever is ordered.
21. That the General and Consul hoist the Kings Flag on their Houses, and in their procession use pallankeen, Coach, Horse, Flags and Trumpetts, As also their other Servants as occasion requires, and that no one besides the Chiefs offer to use Flags.	According to ye Earnest petition off ye new Company Dainot Caun [Diyānat K͟hān] Settled that in their going abroad Flags & pallankeens signifyed nothing. That when he sees a warrantable Sunnod [*sanad*] the Old Companys Flags shall be taken down.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
	A perwanna [*parwana*] went to Dainot Caun [Diyānat Khān] in ye 44th Year[1] That what related to ye Trumpett Flags & c. be executed.
22. Iff the Consul or Companys people have in their Accounts any demands upon their Servants, That they confine them untill they have made an End, and that no one Assist those on whom there is Such demands-	In ye 5th Year[2] ye Dutch obtained a phirmaund [*farmān*] which is enrolled Vizt. That in their demands from their Servants, none from the Duanny [*dīwānī*] meddle in itt.
23. In the 21st Year[3] according to ye Kings phirmaund [*farmān*], A Husbul Hoocum [*ḥasbu-l-ḥukm*] under ye Seal off Tajoomdatulmoolk Modarelmahaum[4], & ye Nishaun [*nishān*] off the princes, The English obtain'd that all Custom is Excused, Suratt Excepted. Iff the English Gomastoes [*gumāshtahs*] carry goods to any port in Bengall or other Subaships that nothing be demanded, by reason they may buy and sell with satisfaction. Iff their Goods are stolen, that care be taken to have them found, and the Theif punished, and that their Boates be nott molested	This Affair was never settled in ye Court, & for ye abovementioned; it is contained in ye Nishaun [*nishān*] which they have gott.

[1] *i.e.*, 1111-2 H or 1700-1 A D.
[2] *i.e.*, of Shāh-'Ālam, 1122-3 H, or 1711-12.
[3] *i.e.*, 1088-9 H., or 1677-8 A D.
[4] These words must be *Jamdatu-l-mulk*, *Madqr-ul-muhqm*, part of the *wazīr's* titles, and the reference must be to him. They mean 'affirmed of the kingdom, pivot of difficult under takings.'

Articles in the Petition	Remarks from ye Duanny
account the Cutbarrah [*khat-barār*] & c[a]. We hope that ye New Company may obtain a phirmaund [*farmān*] according to ye princes Nishaun [*nishān*].	
24. The New English Company is Seperate from the Old one. Iff they have any dealings with them on ye name off their being English that they come to an understanding among themselves, and that no other people appear between.	According to ye Earnest petition off ye new Company Dainot Caun [Diyānat Khān] Settled—That ye New Comp[a]. is Seperate from ye Old—And That no one interfer in their dealings with one another.
25. That there may be a mint Settled near the Bengall Factory and Siccas Vizt. Gold Silver and Copper Stamp'd there. In Rajamoll [Rājmahal] there is a Mint, but whither we dare nott send our Gold Silver and Copper by reason off ye Distance and ye ffear off Robbers.	In ye Chucklah [*chaklah*] off Eckbarnagur [Akbarnagar] called Rajamoll [Rājmahal] In Jehaūgeernagur [Jāhāngīrnagar] (called Dacca) & in Saul-Gong [Sātgāon] (Called Hugly Bunder) [Hugil *bandar*] there are mints Settled, which being a Great distance from ye Factory they for that reason offer ye Above mentioned. What is ordered—
26. That itt be ordered for ye new Companys people to goe & Come att pleasure to Metchlepatam, Bibelooty, Conara, Daroo-Jehaud, & c[a]. ports & Citys. According to the Kings phirmaund [*farmān*] to ye Dutch and ye Sunnod [*sanad*] off Abool-Hossen [Abū-l-Hasan][2] to ye	The Kings phirmaund [*farmān*] in ye 31st year[1]. To ye Dutch does nott contain ye Above-mentioned Butt a phirmaund [*farmān*] was obtained in Suratt ye 31st year in which they are nott to be molested.

[1] *i e*, 1098-9 H or 1687-8 A.D.

[2] The Qutb Shāhi king of Golkonda who came to the throne in 1672.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
English. That ye new Company obtain a phirmaund [*farmān*].	
27. Whatever Merchandize, provisions or apparell are brought from Europe, Metchlipatam [Masulipatam] or other places, iff they are sold or sent to Europe; According to ye phirmaund [*farmān*] off ye Dutch or Abool Hoosens [Abū-l- Ḥasan's] Sunnod [*sanad*] to ye Old Company, That ye New Company obtain a phirmaund [*farmān*] likewise. That in Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] Hyderabad and other places they be nott molested account way Customes.	On ye back off ye Kings phirmaund [*farmān*] in ye 33rd Year and 22nd of Zilhedge [Ẕū-l-hijjah][1] was wrote— That what Merchandize provisions and apparell be brought for use be Excused Custom—
28. Whatever goods are brought from Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] to Hyderabad or are carried thence 1 pagoda is ye hire off an Ox. We hope that, According to ye Dutch Custom, we may not pay itt to ye Mutsuddy [*mutaṣaddī*], and for ye Washermen that wash ye Companys Cloth That they goe to any place where there is Sweet water According to ye Custom off the Dutch Without any molestation.	The Case stands thus in the Dutch phirmaund [*farman*] off ye 33rd Year[2] Vizt. 2 Oxen-hire 4 pagodas { 2 the Owner / 2 the Govt. Butt, as 5 were paid, 1 is Cutt out, & butt 4 paid according to their petition as fformerly Ordered That ye Dutch Satisfy ye owners off ye Oxen, & that ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] doe nott molest them on that Account—

[1] Friday, 27th Sept-mber, 1889

[2] *i.e.*, 1100-1H. or 1689-90 A.D.

ARTICLES IN THE PETITION	REMARKS FROM YE DUANNY
	In the Town Dom In Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] were 40 Washermen houses. The rent off Each house being paid Yearly by the Dutch, Butt as there are att present butt 6 Houses that they be nott troubled, And that ye Washermen going to Soory to wash in Sweet water, when there is none here, be nott Molested Ordered that itt be granted.
29. In ye 33rd Year by ye Kings phirmaund [*farman*] Five Towns and places were given to ye Dutch for Coining. We hope that Maudoobaulum & c^a. 5 Towns As per particulars may be given ye New Company and that they Coin there: and that in those towns as ye Dutch have Mints Apart, We may have ye same, in which to Coin our Gold and Silver that comes from England and Other places—	In ye 33rd Year ye Kings phirmaund [*farman*] was Granted to ye Dutch which is enrolled as per particulars— Towns given 5 Whenever they coined Siccas in ye Mint, 3 pagodas were paid per 100 half off which went to ye King

Maudoobaulum	1		
Muckemahumudbaud	1		
Pursanoor	1		
	3		350
Dulluckpondy	1	—120	
Dawarumbaud	1	—250	—370
	2		
	5 Towns		720

THE DUTCH EMBASSY COMMENCING IN THE REIGN OFF SHA-ALLUM[1] AND ENDING IN THAT OFF JEHAUN-DOR-SHA.[2]

Commadore Joseph Kettler The Dutch Vakile [*vakil*] made his humble petition, which upon Bibbee Julianas request to his Majesty was delivered into y^{e} Records Vizt. That they hoped from his Majestys bounty, The articles hereafter mentioned besides their fformer Grants might be now inserted in a new phirmaund [*farman*], which would prove an honour and Creditt to Said Commadore and all their Settlements.

THE PETITION	AN ACCOUNT FROM THE KINGS BOOKS	KINGS SIGNING
Concerning ye Suratt Mutsuddys (*Mutaaṣddis*)		
1. Itt has been long customary that att what time we bring Goods from our own Country the King's Duty was paid in Goods. We now hope that upon our Exporting Goods from Indostan, the Custom be paid. After the same manner. Att ye Season off bringing Goods from Agra to Suratt The Custom is without Expence & way-charges, which will be both to his Majestys and our advantage-Addition-The Dutch vakile [*vakil*] humbly petitions, That	Itt was Customary That what Merchandize the Dutch brought from their own Country and other parts, the Duty to be paid in Goods according to 3½ per Cent. In ye present reign 2½ is settled. Itt is entered in their phirmaund [*farmān*] off the 5th year (January 20, 1711—January 8, 1712) That what Goods they buy att Agra are by Agreement Settled att 12 rs. for 10, and att Amadabad [Ahmadabād] 10½ for 10 when brought to Suratt: for	

[1] Shāh-'Alam.

[2] Jahāndār Shāh The embassy reached Lahor in the reign of Shāh 'Alam, but the business was not concluded until after Jahāndār Shāh's accession There is a detailed diary of their stay at court in Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Ost-Indien*, 4 vols. *folio*, Dordrecht, 1726, Vol IV, pp 282-307

upon what goods we know there is profitt to be gott & are scarce both in Suratt & Europe, Buying att Agra & other places & paying ye Carriage & ca. Charges we carry them to Suratt. Wherefore the taking off Agra Goods in Suratt is without Expence & off advantage to his Majesty.	which reason the Custom may be taken att Suratt as formerly: and that what Goods are brought in Suratt Burrodrah[1] &ca. The true Invoice be required and Custom paid Accordingly. Vizt. By ye Abovementioned 2½ per cent is paid. Wherefore ye taking and Selling goods in Suratt, seems to have neither Good nor bad Consequences.
2. That what provisions or apparell are brought Or Carried away Either by Land or water they be nott molested Account off Custom. Moreover that the Generall sending 10 or 15 Horses for his Gomastoes [*Gumāshtahs*], they be nott molested.	We ffind by former Custom, That what victualls, Stocks off provision, Apparell, Gold & Silver vessells, & womens Ornaments came to the 3 Settlements on their Ships were nott molested account off Custom. That what horses came for Sale, The Mutsuddys [*Mutaṣaddīs*] writing down their description, putt a Seal upon their Necks. Iff said horses are fitt for his Majesty, they are bought with ye Owners consent paying down ye money. As for ye remainder ye Owner may sell them where he pleases.
	They now petition that what are

[1] *i.e.*, Barodah, still called locally Barodra

	for their own use may nott be molested- Whatever is ordered ?—	
3. Within ye City off Suratt we hire a house butt being quite ruined, is neither a proper receptacle for our Selves nor Merchandize, & through the populousness off the place, another Mansion is nott procurable; The Capt. &ca. living in a Garden without ye City.	We ffind by fformer Custom, that ye Dutch from their ffirst arrivall. In Suratt, hired a house with ye owners Consent & paid the rent accordingly. Itt is Entered in their phirmaund [*farmān*] off ye 2nd. Year That there was an order to build a house in the town Ohund.—Ordered that for ye Companys business, buying & selling as fformerly; & for ye living off the Chief &ca. Either in City, Garden, or near Gardens that they be nott molested.	
We hope that a place within; or without ye City, where our Ships come up near ye ffrench Garden May be given for ye keeping our Merchandize and that according to ye manner off other Citizens we may make a house & Garden.	In ye mean time they humbly petition as above-mentioned— Whatever is ordered ?	
4. That what Dutchman running from them Lyes concealed & Does nott appear; That ye Mutsuddys [*Mutaṣaddīs*] seize him & deliver him to ye Chief.	We ffind by fformer Custom, when any Servants, on whom they have demands, run from their Chief; That ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] deliver them up.	Granted.

Concerning ye Mutsuddys [Mutasaddīs] In Bengal Behar & Orissa.

1. The Custom on Goods bought att Patna In Behar is 2½ per Cent which is repeated by ye Hugly Mutsuddys [*mutasaddīs*] on their was arrivall there; contrary to the tenour off the phirmaund [*farmān*] We hope for an order on ye Patna Mutsuddys nott to molest on any Goods that are carried to Hugly Either by Land or water.	According to an order In Zilcaude [Zū-l-qa'dah] & ye 51st. Year[1], The fformer Dutch petition sent by Sha Amud [Shāh Ahmad] was introduced to his Majesty. "That the phowsdars [*faujdārs*] & all other Governours In Agra, Patna, Rajamoll [Rājmahal], Muxadavad [Maqsūdābād] &ca. on ye banks on ye Ganges to Hugly be ordered for ye ffuture not to take double Custom from ye Dutch, butt only 2½ per cent In Hugly"—Wherefore a Phirmaund [*farmān*] was Granted in ye 2nd year[2] Specifying to take 2½ per Cent Custom according to ye manner off Suratt.	
2. The towns Chintsoray [Chinsurah] in ye Pergunna off Adsa, Barnagur in ye pergunna off Culcutta, & Mirzapoor in ye pergunna off Bukshbunder have been long rented by us for ye Sake off Carpenters, Smiths, hiring	An Account off the rent & particulars off the towns and pergunnas in ye Subaship off Bengall are nott in ye records. They petition that itt may be according to ye Government & Custom off that Subaship.	Write to ye Duan [*dīwān*] that he Act according to Custom and Send an accot. hither.

[1] 'Ālamgīr died on February 20, or 21, 1707, two days before the completion of Zū-l-qa'dah of the fifty-first year.
[2] i.e., 1708-9 A.D.

boates, loading our Ships, Mullahs [*mallāhs*] & other workmen, Untill we are in ye Entire possession our Merchandize cannot pass Currant. We hope that ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*], taking ye Stated rent, may act according to fformer Custom.

On the back off a Sunnod [*sanad*] which they obtained in Shabaun [Sha'bān], & ye 5th Year[1] under Murshed Cooly Cauns [Murshid Qulī Khān] Seal, whose Copy they produce Under Cozzys [*qāzī's*] Seal, & In a Sunnod [*sanad*] under ye Seal off Sherrufwoodeen [Sharfu-d-dīn] the princes Duan [*dīwān*] itt is wrote, "That ye Towns, Chinstsoray [Chinsurah] in Adsa, Barnagur in Culcutta, & Mirzapoor in Buckashbunder [Bakhshī Bandar] have long since belonged to ye Dutch for their Ships necessarys, All Carpenters Smiths & Workmen living in those places. That the rent off those places be paid according to the Stated Jumma [*jamā*], and that nothing more be required, The houses numbered,[2] nor phirmaush [*farmaish*] made as fformerly".

3. That, what Dutchman runs from ye Dutch Company & does nott appear, The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*]

We find from Suratt, That for ye Elopement off any Servants, on whom they have demands, from Either off

Granted.

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[1] Further on, the day of the month is given, *viz*, the 18th Sha'bān, or the 21st. August, 1711.

[2] (A translation of *Khanah-shumarī*, a house-tax W I)

deliver him to the Chief.	the 3 Factorys; That ye Mutsuddys [*Mutaṣaddīs*] Seize and return them.	
4. Whatsoever Gold, Silver, and Copper is carried from Hugly to Muxadavad [Maqsūdābād], Rajamoll [Rājmahal] Patna, Dacca & ca. in ye kingdom account ye Dutch Company, That ye Droga [*dāroghah*] off ye Mint be ordered to Coin their plate ffirst; by default off which ye Ships loose their Mussoon.	The Custom on Siccas in ye Mint was pardoned in ye 19th year[1] of Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr]; there being a Great advantage reaped from ye Import off Gold and Silver. There was an order for no restraint in Coinage. But att what time plate was delivered in, the Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddīs*] coin itt; all which was putt in Execution. The Dutch Vakile [*vakīl*] humbly petitions concerning ye Above written.	Whatever is delivered in, that their Siccas be first Coined.
5. Att the time off buying petre, Ophium, Cloth, Silk, Sugar, Wax, Grain, &ca., Merchandize Whether wove a or off any other kind; That 2½ per Cent being taken in Hugly. There be no ffarther delay given—	In ye Account off Customs for Cloth, Silk & Ophium, 3½ per Cent was formerly taken. According to a phirmaund [*farmān*] off ye 2nd. year 2½ per Cent was settled for ye Dutch. In ye 25th year[2] the buying off petre. In Behar was prohibited-Upon which ye Dutch Vakile [*vākil*] wrote that ye buying off petre was permitted.	Following the Custom off Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr.] That Extortion & delay be nott practised in their Cloth and Silk.

[1] *i.e.*, 1675-6 A.D.
[2] *i.e.*, 1681-2 A.D.

They have gott a Copy under ye. Cozzys [*qāzīs*] Seal off Murshid Cooly Cauns [Murshid Qūlī Khān] Sunnod [*Sanad*] Duan Saba [*dīwān-i-ṣūbah*] off Bengall Behar &ca. wrote ye 18th Shabaun [Sha'bān] & ye 5th year[1]. The tenour off a Sunnod [*Sanad*] Under the Seal off Zeaudy Caun [Ẓiāu-d-din Khān]. In Zilcaud [Ẓū-l-qa'dāh] & ye 2nd. Year[2] mentions "That Cloth, Silk, Petre, &ca. bought in Bengall Behar & Orixa they bring to the port; & that ye Hackims & Chowkedars [*chaukidārs*] doe nott molest their going backwards & forwards; Account Carriage &ca."

The Dutch upon Account off extortion & delays now humbly petition.

6. The Companys boates laden with Merchandize & their Gomastoes [*gumāshtahs*] to buy & Sell, pass fforward & Backward in ye Country, with ye Captains Dustick [*dastak*] in Bengall. In the way the phowsdars [*faujdārs*],

Formerly 3½ per Cent Custom was settled, In ye 2nd. Year 2½ per Cent. Forbidden dutys, Such as Rawdarry [*rahdāri*] are pardoned.

Custom According to the time off Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr]

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[1] Thursday, 21st. August, 1711

[2] January, 1709. (Jan 2 to 31).

Jaggeerdars [jagīrdārs], Jemidars [zamīndārs], and Chowkedars [chaukidars], att ye time Our Goods pass Molest us, and take something att Each place We hope they may be ordered nott to molest us, nott offering to take ye Minutest thing off what is fforbidden.		
7. Itt is Settled by a Phirmaund [farmān]—That we putt what Delolls [dālāls] we please into our business. Att present they fforce themselves on us, raising ffalse Storys on ye Companys Vakiles [vakils] & Gomastoes [gumāshtahs], bringing them from all parts to ye Subahs [sūdāhdā'rs] Ketcherry [kāchāhri], & plaguing them so long, till ye Ships Mussoon is gone, & ye Companys business stopped. We hope there may be an order That All Hackims [ḥakīm], where ye Companys Gomastoes [gumāshtahs] reside, weighing ye matter, doe administer Justice.	What is Customary for ye Dutch is, That ye Chief off ye Factory pitch upon what Deloll [dālāl] he pleases; and that besides him, no other interfer in ye business. For Justice on ye Mutsuddys' [mutaṣuddi's] names in all places they petition as Abovewritten.	Granted.
8. Our Masters Servants for a long time have lived in Nuroola Cauns [Nūrullah Khān's] house in Patna paying him 30 rupees per month. Att	Itt is Settled In Suratt: That the Dutch with ye Owners Consent hire a house to live in Continually; paying ye rent accordingly, & nott turned out by	

Nuroola Cauns [Nūrullah Khān's] death ye house was Seized for ye King, & ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] take ye rent, sometimes Speaking to us to leave itt. We hope that the house may be given us—Iff this be nott granted—That an order be given on ye present future Mutsuddys now [*mutaṣaddis*] nott to turn us out butt to take ye 30 rupees.	ye Owners. They now petition upon ye Abovewritten—What is ordered ? From the Consommany [*khān-sāmānı*] books we find That Nuroolla Cauns [Nūrullah Khān's] house was Seized in ye time off ye Duan [*dīwān*] Amud Ali-Caun [Ahmad 'Alī Khān]. The Dutch now rent itt att 50 rupees per month.	Granted at 50 Rs.
Concerning Agra Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*]. 1. That itt may be inserted in ye Agra Phirmaund [*farmān*] That what Dutchman runs from their Factory & lyes concealed. The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] Seize him and deliver him to the Chief.	From ye. Manner off Suratt itt is manifest, That, Upon ye. Elopment off any one on whom they have demands. The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] send him to ye Chief.	Granted.
Concerning ye Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] *off Furkunda-booniaua*[1] *or Hyderabad to be Entered in that phirmaund* [*farmān*]. 1. Itt is Settled according to a perwanna under Assid Cauns [Asad Khān] Seal, wrote in ye 33rd. Year (1689-1690) off Allumgeer ['Ālmagīr]	Formerly in ye time off Alamgeer ['Alamgir], There was a Husbul-Hoocum [*hasbu-l-hukum*] wrote in Zil-hedge [Ẓū-l-hijjah] and 33rd year; for	Granted

[1] *Farkhundah-bunyad*, the auspicious foundation, an honorific appellation of Haidārābād

"That what debts are due from ye weavers, off Dyers and others, The Gomastoes [*gumashtāhs*] be the assisted in getting their money. That what Dutchman withdraws and Lyes concealed. The Mutsuddys [*mutasaddis*] Seize and deliver him to ye Chief, and That what Servants shall be kept by them, be nott hinder'd nor Afterwards in any manner plunder'd.

Itt is settled according to a Husbulhoocum [*hasbu-l-ḥukum*] under Assid Cauns [Asad Khān's] Seal, wrote in Zilhedge [Ẓū-l-hijjah] & ye 33rd. Year off Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr]. That As Jigea [*jizyah*] was nott taken from Our Masters Servants In Hyderabad [Haidarābād] & Other places we have now by your ffavour hopes in ye present Reign.

ye Present and ffuture Mutsuddys [*mutasaddis*] off Hyderabad [Haiderābād] "That according to the petition off the Dutch Companys Vakile [*vakīl*] Mynheer Commandore which was given to the Majesty; The Mutsuddys [*mutasaddis*] assist their Masters Gomastoes [*gumashtahs*] in a just reimbursement from the Weavers Dyers & others. That iff their Countrymen or any one disappear, The Mutsuddys [*mutaṣaddis*] seize and deliver him to their Gomastees [*gumāshtahs*], and That they neither prohibitt nor plunder Servants that are kept for their trade." His Majesty consented to this petition.

According to an Order off ye 18th Zilcaude [Zū-l-qu'dāh] and ye 33rd. Year[1] of Allumgeer ['Ālamgīr]; Jigea [*jizyah*] was pardoned ye Dutch and their people in Hyderabad [Haidarābād]; Neither were the people numbered.

[1] *i e.*, August, 24 1689.

IV.

LISTS OF PRESENTS

A List off what given the Dutch att their dispatch from Mouzzedeen [Mu'izzu-d-Dīn] (called Jehaun-Dor-Sha [Jahāndār Shāh].)

To the Generall of Batavia

Jewells	—1	pudduck [*padak*]
	1	cunger [*khanjar*]
	2	

Otter (*'itr*) off Roses	—50 Tola
Cloth Kimcabs [*kamkhāb*]	—40 ps.
White	—60 ps.
Shaul [*Shāl*] all sorts	—64 ps.
	164 ps.

To the Envoy—

Jewells	—1	Toorah [*turrah*] in a Gold Sockett, sett with Stones.
	—1	Cunger [*khanjar*] Sett with Stones, & a pearl-String.
	2	
Horse	1	with Gold Furniture
A Vest		

To the Second and third In Councill—

Vests	2
Cungers [*khanjar*]	2

A List off what given ye Portuegueze Envoy By Furruckseer [Farrukhsīyar]—In ye 3rd & 4th Year off his reign[1].

[1] According to Mr. Irvine the third year was from March 16, 1714, to March 5, 1715, N S and the fourth year, March 6, 1715, to February 22, 1716, N S.

To the Envoy—

On his arrival	—1 Vest
	1 Horse
Att Sundry times	—6,000 rupees in Cash
Extraordinary favour	—1 Horse
Att his dispatch	—4 Seerpaws [*sar-o-pās*]— For padree Joseph & c[a] who accompanyed him.

To the Viceroy off Goa—

Kimcabs [*kamkhab*]	—40 ps.
Shauls	—60 ps.
Otter [*'itr*]	—Tola 30

The Consomma [*khānsamān*] petitioned his Majesty ye 14th off Shabaun and ye 3rd Year [August 14, 1714], That in ye time off Sha-Allum [Shāh 'Ālam] padree Jn.o De—the Portugueze Embassadour brought Goods, and a petition, to give ye King Joy off his Kingdom, and that ye ffollowing particulars were given to His King and ye Viceroy off Goa—What is now ordered ?

To the King off Portugall—

1 pudduck [*padak*]	10 000 Rs. according to ye kings price.

To the Viceroy off Goa—

1 Toorah [*turrah*]	.. Gold, sett with precious Stones.
1 pudduck [*padak*]	.. do. do.
Otter [*'itr*] off Roses	.. 30 Tola.
Do. Sandall [*sandal*]	.. 9 do.
Vest.	

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